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ARTICLES

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Anonymous

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Life with the Alien: Role Casting and Face-Saving Techniques in Family Conversation with Young Children

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Editorial

The Organization of Participation

When we talk about the organization of participation in social interaction, there are a number of ways we can conceptualize this phenomenon. Among the many possibilities researchers have explored, we can consider who the focal participants are in the interaction at any given moment and how they become focal or peripheral. We can ask when certain interactants participate and how this is organized. We can ask how interactants' various identities can be made relevant through their participation in the interaction. Additionally, we can look at the physical body and ways in which it is an integral part of the interaction.

This special issue came out of many discussions about the growing and continuing interest in the diverse aspects of the phenomenon of participation and how it is organized within social interaction. It was our hope to bring together a collection of articles which would reflect the range and diversity of research perspectives. We received a wonderful array of submissions to our call for papers, and it is thanks to the collaboration of many people that we have the collection shown here. Because of the different methodologies and contexts represented by these papers, the reviewers enlisted for the selection process included experts from many disciplines and methodological traditions.

We are very excited that the final collection of manuscripts explores the organization of participation in five language communities and in five different cultural and social contexts. The manuscripts also reflect the importance of looking at naturally occurring audio or video taped interaction in analyzing participation as a social phenomenon. Arminen explores participation in various phases of Finish Alcoholics Anonymous meetings. He investigates how the talk during these meetings brings into being the concept of "mutual help." Fatigante, Fasulo, and Pontecorvo look at children's participation in Italian dinner conversations. They bring Goffman's concept of frontstage and backstage talk to bear on their phenomena and show a variety of ways in which children can be talked about in these dinner conversations. Field brings together both a macro and a micro analysis of participation as she explores question asking in a Navajo preschool and examines some of the cultural differences which might explain silence as a response. Kang examines triadic participation in Korean cultural center interactions, specifically looking at how in-group membership is developed through the interaction between the participants. Finally, Curley investigates the use of directives during a Japanese tea ceremony lesson. She argues that an understanding of the organization of participation requires an analysis both of the participants' talk and of their body deployment.

This year marks the first in several years when IAL will not publish the pro-

ceedings from the annual Conference on Language, Interaction, and Culture which has been held at UCLA. This year the proceedings will be published by a new journal: Crossroads in Language, Interaction, and Culture. Congratulations to CLIC for accomplishing this, and we hope that you will consider supporting this new venture. For more information please contact us at ial.

December 1997

Anna Guthrie
Tanya Stivers

Organization of Participation in the Meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous

Ilkka Arminen

Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies

AA meetings are an arena of mutual help for recovering substance abusers. They are characteristically formal interactions in which turns are pre-allocated to parties. Through the analysis of audio-recordings of interactions, I have shown that the formality of interaction is members' collaborative achievement. The opening rituals of a meeting are members' method to mark the boundary between mundane talk and the specific institutional sphere so that parties may move from conversational turn-taking to formally arranged turn-taking. As a collaborative achievement, the format of meeting interaction is an enabling structure that allows parties to design their turns so that they may talk into being the institution of mutual help. Participants orient to the pre-allocated time-slots as an aspect of the format of AA meeting interaction that allows them to construct their turns in collaboration with recipients. AA members use the specific format of their meeting interaction to share their experiences and to establish egalitarian relationships with each other.

This article explores the organization of participation in Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) meetings. AA meetings are therapeutic speech events that are based on the participants' talk as having been designed for giving and receiving mutual help. AA meetings are not a form of professional group therapy but rather are places in which recovering substance abusers help each other to recover from addiction. AA got its start in Akron, Ohio, in 1935, but since then AA has grown into a worldwide fellowship, covering all the continents, with a reported membership of about two million in 1990 (Mäkelä et al., 1996, pp. 25-39). The regular, weekly meetings are the main form of activity in AA. In this study, I will analyze the ways in which the meeting participation is organized, thereby enabling a better understanding of how mutual help is done in practice. The aim of this study is to analyze the forms of participation in a particular institutional interaction order of AA.

I will focus specifically on the relevance of the organization of participation in AA meetings for therapeutic mutual help. It will be shown that the speech exchange system of AA meetings is an enabling structure that allows individual freedom for AA members but also demands self-directed responsibility as a condition of participation in mutual help. AA meetings are characteristically formal interactions in which extended turns are preallocated to parties (for preallocation vs. conversational allocation of turns, see Sacks et al., 1974/1978). The preallocation of turns in AA does not generate the turns, but allows parties to construct their turns so that recipients may ratify these turns by withholding from conversational responses, thereby acknowledging the current speaker's right to produce an extended turn. In this study, I will analyze how extended turns are achieved through members' ori-

entation to the meeting format that enables therapeutic interaction. Further, as the parties' orientations to the preallocation of turns forecloses conversational exchanges, each current speaker is attributed both a right and a duty to design a turn as being appropriate to the sharing of experiences as long as the speaker wants to commit her/himself to mutual help. In this fashion the participation format of AA meetings allows parties to take individual responsibility in order to participate in mutual help. This article analyzes the organization of participation in AA meetings as a way to contribute toward individual responsibility in mutual help in which participants aim at recovering from addiction. In this way, the study explicates the nature of therapeutic interaction in AA through the exploration of the endogenous construction of a context.

I will first discuss the bedrock of AA meeting interaction, the pre-allocational mode of turn-taking. I will show that the formal turn-taking distinguishes AA meetings from ordinary conversational interactions. Further, the formal turn-taking is an achievement. The members' methodical work to draw a distinction between everyday interaction and AA starts as early as the opening rituals. In the main part of the article, I will explore the therapeutic and organizational relevance of AA's particular system of turn-taking and members' orientation to the constraints concerning the turn-types in AA. It will be shown that the format of meeting interaction enables self-directed individual responsibility in mutual help.

DATA AND METHODS

The material in this study comes from the large open¹ speaker meetings held every week by an AA group (the Vuori group) in Helsinki, Finland. The audiotape recordings of these meetings were made by the group itself and are publicly available through the central office of AA in Finland². These meetings always have a longer opening turn (about twenty minutes), followed by about twenty "commentary" turns by different speakers (maximum three minutes each). The speakers who volunteer represent only a minority of the up to two hundred people who attend meetings (see Appendix A for the floor plan of the meeting hall). For this study, twelve of these meetings are used, of which seven were transcribed completely (about eleven hours of recording time), and the rest of the materials were transcribed partially (for further details, see Arminen, 1998, pp. 25-29). In addition, ethnographic notes about some AA meetings were collected in eight societies during a related international study (Mäkelä et al., 1996, pp. 261-273). These ethnographic materials will be used here to point out the specific features of some of the recorded meetings that will be analyzed in detail through conversation analysis (CA).

THE PRE-ALLOCATIONAL MODE OF TURN-TAKING IN AA

In AA's own words, the purpose of an AA meeting "is to give members an

opportunity to discuss particular phases of their alcoholic problem that can be understood best only by other alcoholics. ...These meetings are usually conducted with a maximum of informality, and all members are encouraged to participate in the discussions" (Anonymous 1990/1952, p. 22 [44 questions]). This maximum of informality is, however, achieved through the formal format of the meeting, which notably is not discussed in AA literature. Despite the lack of written regulations, the format of AA meetings tends to be rather uniform (on its variability, see Mäkelä et al. 1996, pp. 149-152). The constitutive, defining feature of AA meetings, also interculturally, is the fact that they are organized around a series of relatively long "monological" turns (ibid., pp. 133-148; Denzin, 1987, pp. 109-122). The preallocation of lengthy monologic turns distinguishes AA meetings from most of the known forms of group therapy (Turner, 1972; Wootton, 1976; Morris & Chenail, 1995), and other types of meetings (Atkinson et al., 1978; Cuff & Sharrock, 1985; Linde, 1991; Schwartzman, 1993; Larrue & Trognon, 1993; Boden, 1994). In purely formal terms, the organization of turn-taking in AA bears a resemblance to jury deliberations (Maynard & Manzo, 1993; Manzo, 1996), but notably the agenda of a therapeutic interaction in AA is different from jury deliberations.

During their extended turns, AA members relate their personal experiences: "Our stories disclose in a general way what we used to be like, what happened, and what we are like now" (Anonymous, 1950/1939, p. 70). The deliberate function of these meetings is therapy, sharing experiences, and giving and receiving support: "AA is a fellowship of men and women who share their experience, strength and hope with each other that they may solve their common problem and help others to recover from alcoholism" (cited from the AA preamble which is commonly read at the beginning of the meetings; cf. Mäkelä et al., 1996, pp. 137-138; Denzin, 1987). In general, AA meetings are a setting for mutual help, accomplished with the help of extended turns which members allocate to one another in formally organized ways.

In the Vuori group the overall format of the meeting is the following. First, the meeting scene is set through the opening rituals (to be discussed subsequently). After the opening rituals, a longer 20- to 25-minutes opening speech follows. The slots for these opening turns are allocated two to three times a year, when the chair of the meeting requests that those come forward who are willing to reserve a time for their opening speech. The main part of the meeting, however, is devoted to commentary turns that follow the opening turn. After the opening turn the chairperson very briefly summarizes the opening turn with a couple of sentences, thereby proposing the topic of the meeting. Subsequently, the chair takes up the names of those who volunteer to share comments. The chairperson allocates the turns but does not usually comment on the speakers. The commentary turns are up to three minutes long at which time their closing is marked by a signal given by the secretary. There are as many commentary turns as can be fit into the one and a half hour meeting time, from about 7 to 8:30 p.m.. After about twenty commentary turns, the meeting is closed with brief closing ceremonies.

This particular format for sharing experiences has many interesting consequences. The major one we will be concerned with here is that this procedure does not allow the speakers to engage in conversations with one another. That is, the contributions of speakers are not allocated and mutually interlinked on a local, turn-by-turn basis as in ordinary conversation. This “disconnectedness” between turns is an oriented to, and reflexively sustained, feature of these meetings. The turns are allocated into a series of extended turns by the chair. In data extract 1 the chairperson comes in after a contribution (only the end shown here), thanks the speaker for it, calls for the next, and asks the subsequent speaker to be ready, in a plain and routine-like manner.

Extract 1 (V2OlaviK1089) ((simplified))³

- 1 M: ...ja omista vaikeuksistaani. (0.5) ↑Ja sitä kautta, .hhh[h
...and my-own difficulties and it way
...*and my own difficulties.* (0.5) ↑*And in that way,* .hhh[h
- 2 B: [rrr
[rrrrrrrrrrrrrr] [rrrrrrrrrr]
- 3 M: sgatoin välttyjä: s[iltä kaikke]in tär:keimmältä asialta mikä
I-was-able avoid it most important thing what
I was able to avo]:id t[he most] impo:rtant thing that I
- 4 mulla on täs↓sä (0.4) j-juomiselta. (1.0) ↓Kiitos.=
I have here drinking thank
have he ↓re (0.4) d-drinking. (1.0) ↓*Thank you.=*
- 5 A: =tt tt tt tt tttttttt[tTTTTTTTTTTTTTTTTTTT tttttt tt tt tt tt tt]
- 6 → C: [Kiitos Matti, Olavi K:: ja Osmo K:: seuraa]va
[Thanks Matti, Olavi K:: and Osmo K:: nex]t
- 7 (2.0) ((next speaker walks to the podium))
- 8 O: .hhh Iltaa mä oo:n Olavi K:: ja alkoholisti,
.hhh *Good evening I'm Olavi K:: and an alcoholic,*
- 9 Kalle puhu tuosta <alemmuuden tunteesta>hh (0.3)
Kalle talked about that <feeling of inferiority>hh (0.3)
- 10 >Mä oon monta kertaa miettinyt että mitä se on< ja o:malta osalta
I have many times thought that what it is and my-own part
>*Many times I've thought what it is< and in terms of myself*

- 11 mä oon miettinyt että se on hu:o:nommuuden tunnetta, .hhhh
 I have thought that it is worse-ness feeling
 I've thought that it is a feeling of poorness, .hhhh
- 12 Ja .kch tää huonommuuden tunne hhh on ollu mulle paljon
 and this worse-ness feeling has been for-me much
 And .kch this feeling of poorness hhh has been for me much
- 13 helpompi selvittää mistä (.) se: (.) taas johtuu.
 easier to-clarify where it again comes-from.
 more easy to sort out where (.) i:t (.) comes from.

Extract 1 starts very near the end of Matti's turn (M), and the end of his time is signalled with the bell (B), after which Matti rushes to conclude his turn with a truncated utterance (line 3-5). Matti marks the conclusion of his turn with thanks, after which the chair allocates the floor to Olavi, the next speaker (line 6). There is no immediate connection between Matti's turn and Olavi's turn following it. In this fashion, each turn in AA meetings is produced as a self-contained, monological unit.

Further, the chair's turn is reflexively tied to the characteristics of this meeting, and particularly to the fact that contributions to the meeting are made from a podium. The chair not only thanks the previous speaker and allocates the turn to the next speaker, but also alerts the subsequent speaker to be ready. This third part exhibits that the change of speakership under these conditions does not just take place unnoticeably but that it demands some preparatory work. The chair tries to minimize the gap between the turns by asking the subsequent speaker to be ready to walk to the podium (see Appendix A, for the floor plan of the hall).

As a whole, the chair's turn conveys a sense of considerable routineness, in which the members' personal experiences form a series of turns that are allocated in a maximally efficient, and relatively impersonal manner. Mostly the chair's turns are extremely plain, purely functional, and void of any extra elements. However, occasionally the chair may add a short compliment of the previous speaker, or remind the speaker to stay in the time limit, as we will later notice. However, as a whole, this laconic way of chairing, which is characteristic of this group irrespective of who does the chairing, invokes a specific role for the chair. The chair who is limited to strictly procedural tasks, is a servant of the meeting (as AA members call their group functionaries, see tradition nine: Anonymous, 1986/1952).

This formal allocation of turns poses a great challenge for members in designing their turns to manage and sustain the social cohesion of these gatherings without any conversational exchanges. In ordinary conversation, the organization of turn-taking guarantees, among other things, the sustained attention of recipients, since, in principle, anybody can be addressed at any stage to become the next speaker. Therefore, everybody must follow the course of conversation in order not

to fail to respond when response is due. By contrast, in AA meetings the conversational turn taking is suspended, and members have to find alternative solutions in order to maintain shared attentiveness (see Arminen, 1998, pp. 86-88). Here we turn our attention to the role of opening rituals which shift the event away from the realm of everyday interaction, thereby gaining the shared attention of those who became participants in a ritually framed activity.

OPENING RITUALS

In this section I will discuss the role of opening rituals for setting the scene of a particular participation framework in AA, in general, and in the Vuori group, in particular. The opening rituals mark the boundary between everyday life and AA as a distinct therapeutic sphere. The amount and the forms of opening rituals vary from group to group, and culture to culture (Mäkelä et al., 1996, pp. 137-138). More or less universally, the beginning of the meeting includes a salutation and the rituals proper. The rituals most commonly include a reading of some AA texts, which vary from group to group. The rituals of the Vuori group are relatively few. The Vuori group always starts with a salutation. Generally, salutations are a conventional way of starting many types of social gatherings. Nevertheless, the salutation for an AA meeting includes some elements through which the persons can already orient to the specific purpose of the gathering. The summons and the salutation of the Vuori group is the following.

Extract 2 (V12Tate0692) ((simplified))

- 1 C: K K K ((Knocks on the table; background noise starts fading))
- 2 No ni?, (.) jospa (.) mentäis vähä (.) hiljasemmin paikoillee=
Oh well?, (.) if you (.) could take (.) the seats a bit more silently=
- 3 =↑HYVÄÄ ILTAA=
=↑GOOD EVENING=
- 4 =minun nimeni on Tate ja minä olen alkoholisti,
=My name is Tate and I am an alcoholic,
- 5 .hhhh TERVetuloa (0.3) Vuori-ryhmän avoimeen kokoukseen.
.hhhhh WELcome (0.3) to the open meeting of the Vuori group.
- 6 Tänä iltana meillä alustaa Veke ja: (.)
This evening we-have speaking [name] and
Tonight the opening speaker is Veke a:nd (.)
- 7 spiikkerinä toimii (0.3) Olavi.
as-a-chair acts [name]
the chair is (0.3) Olavi.

The salutation is composed of 1) a call for order, 2) greeting, 3) identification, 4) welcoming address, and 5) introduction of the (main) speaker and the officials of the meeting (chair). This is a common format of salutation also cross-culturally (cf. Denzin, 1987, p. 109; Johnson, 1987), which of course has local modifications. A call for order is not necessary if the group is already silent. A greeting draws the attention of the participants.

I will now spend some time discussing the role of identification as it touches on the key aspects of AA. The universal format of identification is that the speaker tells her/his first name and adds the attribute "alcoholic," or one of its variants "alcohol and drug addict," etc.⁴ Members in AA are known to each other by their AA name only, and not by their family name, or by their profession, or by any other possible social attribute. In this fashion members enter AA as individual atoms who are cut off from their social statuses. The practice of calling members only by their AA names maintains the commonality between members, as they are presented as individuals who lack everything else but one common attribute: an addiction to substances. AA meetings are presented as being composed of individuals, one alike to the next, and who speak in turns producing a series of turns, one alike to the other.

The convention that only the first name, and not the whole name, is used, goes back to the anonymity principle of AA (see tradition eleven: Anonymous, 1986/1952). Sometimes when several members of the same group have the same first name, they may distinguish each other with numerals, "Peter," "Peter the Second," etc., or with often humorous characterizations, like "Peter the Dry," "Soft Simo," etc. Some AA members have taken for themselves names that are loaded with symbolism to celebrate the change in their life. For instance, Kolumbus [Columbus] who had discovered AA in California, was active in establishing AA in Finland. Specific AA names, and symbolic names in particular, show that persons do not just identify themselves in AA, but they identify themselves *in terms* of AA.

The identification with one's role in AA is an achievement. In AA, the attribute "alcoholic" not only refers to one's past, but it is an ongoing accomplishment which demonstrates the person's orientation to being an AA member. By using their AA name and acknowledging their alcoholism while identifying themselves, the participants display their orientation to the specific nature of the gathering, where alcoholism is the common condition. In this fashion, persons choose, and make relevant, one categorization of all the possible categorizations: old, young, black, white, woman, man, etc. (see Jayyusi, 1984). Consequently, the identification is "procedurally relevant" (Schegloff, 1991) so that it limits the range of choices the speaker has to continue his/her turn. That is, the speaker cannot doubt the identity of a recovering substance abuser if the admission of the identity is done in the very onset of the turn. By contrast, if a speaker does not admit addiction in the beginning of his/her turn, then the speaker does not display commitment to AA and a radical doubt may be expressed (see Arminen, 1998, pp. 105-107).

The welcoming address gives information about the nature of the gathering. Normally the type of meeting is stated, “open” or “closed.” Usually the name of the group whose meeting is held is stated. In some groups it is suggested for whom the meeting is especially designed, for young people, for women, etc. Finally, the officials of the meeting, usually only the chair, and the opening speaker are introduced. Again the style is laconic. No attributes and characterizations, such as how excellent and extraordinary the speaker is, are generally mentioned. They do not belong to the AA style: personalities are not put ahead of principles. In smaller discussion meetings where there are no predesigned speakers no introductions are needed.

In the Vuori group the salutation is followed by announcements (not studied here)⁶. They include calls for special events and to members’ AA anniversaries, etc. At a certain phase in the announcements, the chair declares that the meeting will be tape-recorded and that the tapes are available through the AA service office. Then the chair asks if any newcomers are present. When a newcomer shows up, he/she is given some free copies of AA leaflets.

The other opening rituals of the Vuori group that follow the salutation are few and remain more or less the same from one meeting to the next. They include a moment of silence after which the Serenity Prayer is uttered, and a thought for the day is read. The amount and the content of the opening rituals vary from group to group, but they all contain the same elements, reading of texts and ritual moments that consolidate unity. Besides accomplishing shared attentiveness the opening rituals inform the persons present about the style and atmosphere of the meeting. The informed AA member can, through the opening rituals, find out information about how program-oriented, how spiritual, etc., the group in question is. Moreover, usually, the opening rituals are used to introduce the topic of the meeting so that, for instance, readings are selected according to the topic.

The moment of silence is especially apt for creating shared attentiveness, since the person who takes the turn after the silence will have the undivided attention of all the participants. If the first turn after the silence is heard as being felicitous, that is, having been uttered by the right person in the right way, then the meeting can continue as uniformly ratified, legitimated by all the participants.

Extract 3 (V12Tate0692) ((simplified))

- 1 C: JAaha? hh JOSpa sitten hetkeks (.) hiljentyi ↑simme (.)
WE:ll? hh IF We could have ↑silence (.) for a moment (.)
- 2 että palauttaisimme mieleemme miksi olemme tänään täällä,
to remind us why we are here today.
- 3 ((Audience was already quiet when silence was declared.
The silence continues for almost ten seconds.))

- 4 C: Jumala suokoon minulle tyyneyttä hyväksyä asiat=
God grant me the serenity to accept the things=
- 5 =joita en voi muuttaa rohkeutta muuttaa mitkä voin=
=I cannot change courage to change the things I can=
- 6 =ja viisautta erottaa nämä toisistaan.
=and wisdom to know the difference.

Tate, who is chairing the opening of the meeting, declares silence for a moment. The silence is not long for a silence (although it would be extremely long for a pause in conversation), but it is long enough to be audible. The unanimous quietness of the audience ratifies Tate's floor-taking. Nevertheless, Tate did not start the first turn after the silence with just any words, but with a poetic phrase known by AA members as the Serenity Prayer. In this respect, Tate did not select himself as the principal whose ideas were to be presented. Instead he took as a source an AA text which he only animated (Goffman, 1981; Maynard, 1984, pp. 56-76; Clayman, 1992). Through this choice of footing, Tate selected the community of AA for the goal of legitimation rather than himself. Hence, the moment of silence ratified the ongoing event as a meeting of Alcoholics Anonymous, where the participants acknowledge the authority of AA with respect to that occasion.

After the moment of silence and the Serenity Prayer a thought for the day is read. The thought for the day is selected according to the topic of the meeting. Of the twelve analyzed meetings, five focused on a psychological problem or a personality trait (shyness, double life, problems of life, self-centeredness, guilt); three on the steps and traditions (steps four and five, first tradition, third tradition); two were story meetings, where the AA life story of the speaker was told; and in two meetings the topic of the meeting was not defined⁶. The short text to be read is taken from some AA approved book. The most commonly used textbooks, not only in the Vuori group but also more generally, are *Alcoholics Anonymous* [known as *the Big Book*] (1950/1939), *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions* (1986/1952) and *As Bill Sees It: The AA Way of Life. Selected Writings of AA's Co-Founder* (1967).

Together the opening rituals of AA meetings bring forth the shared attentiveness of participants, which is a condition for the cohesion of a gathering. Through the opening rituals a specific institutional order is invoked, and the meeting is separated from ordinary social interaction. As the participants' shared attention is gained, the formal organization of interaction becomes the members' own practical accomplishment. Further, the opening rituals introduce the topic of the meeting thereby contributing toward the sense of each single occasion. In some meetings other than those of the Vuori group there may be many more rituals, but this does not change their elementary function.

- 8 → ja (.) ja tota: (1.0) kiitos Olaville tost alustuksesta
and (.) and e:rm (1.0) thanks Olavi for your presentation
- 9 → kyl mä (0.2) niinku tunnis- e e tunnistin sen mitalin
 sure I like recog- recognized the medal
sure I (0.2) like rec- e e recognized the other side of the
- 10 → toisen puolen siitä se ujouden vastakohdan sen, (0.6)
 other side from+it it shyness' opposite it
coin the opposite of being shy the, (0.6)
- 11 sen just to häirikön ja ton .hhhhh hälisisjättyypin
 it just that troublemaker and that loudmouth-type
the just th' troublemaker and th' .hhhhh loudmouth-type
- 12 ja ja se että kyl mä sen oon kokenu näin että:
 and and it that sure I it have experienced this+way that
an' and I really have the experience that e:rm
- 13 (0.2) on ollu aika nöyryyttävää sitt täss matkan varrella
 it-has been quite humiliating then here way along
(0.2) it has then been quite humiliating to notice here along
- 14 huomata et se todellakaa ei oo semmosta .hhhhh nf.hhhh
 to+notice that it really not is such
the way that it isn't really like that .hhhhh nf.hhhh

The turn starts with a greeting, which is an optional component, and then moves to a self-identification as was seen in extract 1. The self-identification has at least one feature we have not yet discussed. Each speaker repeats his or her name even though the chair has summoned him or her by name. Note that in extract 4 the chair uses the two-part name **Merja-Leena** for the speaker who subsequently identifies herself as **Merja** (lines 4 and 7). Either the chair misremembers the name, or the chair uses the real first name of the person, by accident, who has chosen herself a slightly truncated version of her name as her AA name. If the latter is true, then this again shows that AA identities are constructions that are to some degree separate from the person's identity outside of AA⁸. In general, the fact that speakers repeat their name shows that the saying of one's name in the beginning of the turn is not an introduction in the ordinary sense, as the chair has already taken care of that. In fact, the attribution of the label "alcoholic" to oneself licenses one for giving one's name. When the name is produced together with the label that acknowledges addiction, the name is merely a repetition of what has just been said, but forms one part of an admission of a personal problem. In this way, persons who open their turn with the format "name + problem identificatory label" display their orientation to the context as one for mutual help where participants suffering from personal problems help each other to come to terms with their com-

mon problem.

We may still add that the saying of one's name is not a conditional feature, but a constitutive part of a personal admission, and by definition, an admission has to be a personal act. Each person alone can make an admission, no other party can attribute the admission to the person in question. In this fashion, as routinized as the openings in AA meetings are, they invoke the common spiritual heritage of AA, whose first step says "we admitted we were powerless over alcohol - that our lives had become unmanageable" (Anonymous, 1986/1952, p. 21).

After this conventionalized opening line, the speaker enters into a reorientation phase. In extract 4, immediately after the opening line, the speaker produces items that project a continuation "**and (.) and erm**" (line 8). These turn-extension devices that we may also call *floor holders* indicate the speaker's willingness to continue and orientation to the possibility that recipients might take the turn (Schegloff, 1982, p. 76). Through this displayed orientation to continue, speakers foreclose the possibility that recipients would take the turn, and mark the transition from the opening as an initiation of the extended turn. This special effort preserves the speaker's right to go ahead after the first potential transition-relevance place in order to begin a multi unit turn.

After the speaker's right to hold the floor is established, the construction of the extended turn begins. At this point no conventionalized format of turn design any longer constrains the speaker who thus may choose the design for a multi-unit extended turn of talk⁹. I will discuss briefly a few of these techniques for initiating the construction of expanded stretches of talk. Recurringly, the speakers use various types of items, which mark the *sequential position* of their turn and its connection to previous turns of talks. These position markers, such as "**thanks Olavi for your presentation**" (4, line 8), are reflexively related to the specific format of these occasions in that they maintain topical cohesion between preallocated turns.

Furthermore, the establishment of linkages to previous turns projects and makes relevant topical affinities between these turns, thereby providing "tellable items," which serve as starting points. In extract 4, the tellable is produced in the following way: "**sure I like recognized the other side of the coin, the opposite of being shy...**" (lines 9-10). A common feature in the formulations about tellable items is that they are *prospective indexicals*, i.e., the sense of what is said in an utterance is not lent available to recipients, but a floor is reserved for a subsequent "enrichment" that will clarify the sense of the utterance (Goodwin, 1996, pp. 383-384). In (4), "**the other side of coin, the opposite of being shy**" (9-10) is a prospective indexical, which makes relevant an explication about this "**other side**". The use of prospective indexicals is a technique to initiate an extended turn. In extract 5, we can see a parallel organization through which the speaker makes relevant the production of an extended turn.

Extract 5 (V1Kalervo0686)

- 1 K: .hhh Minä olen Kalervo ja alkoholisti ((knock)) (.)
.hhh I am Kalervo and an alcoholic ((knock)) (.)
- 2 ja tuota, yhm (.) minä olen (.) Vuoriryhmän jäsen ja (.)
 and well I am Vuori group's member and
and er:m, u:h (.) I am a member of the Vuori group and (.)
- 3 minä olen samalla AA:n jäsen.
 I am simultaneously member-of-AA
so I am an AA member.
- 4 .h Jos .hhh ↑Saku kysy että, (.)
.h If .hhh ↑Saku asked that, (.)
- 5 minkälainen on AA-AA:n jäsen
 what-kind-of is AA- member
what an AA- AA-member is like
- 6 niin se on tä:mmö:nen just tässä ↑nyt.
 so it is this-kind just here now
so it's li:ke thi:s just here and ↑now.
- 7 Paljon kärsiny vähän kokenu yyh
 A-lot suffered a-little experienced
Suffered a lot experienced a bit of u:h
- 8 laitapuolen elämää .hh ollu pikkusen linnassa,=
 skidrow life have-been a-bit in-jail
life in skidrow .hh been a while in jail,=

The turn begins again with a conventional identification, after which a micro-pause and a floor holder “**and erm, uh**” follows at line 2. Subsequently, the speaker goes into an extended identification: “**I am a member of the Vuori group and so I am an AA member**” (2-3). This elaboration of identification is prospectively linked with the topic of the turn, which is subsequently initiated with a question “**what an AA member is like**” (5). This topic initiation, for its part, is provided after the sequential position marker “**If Saku asked that**” (4). Here, the speaker, Kalervo, links his turn back to the chair’s question, which the chair had made in order to summarize an aspect of the opening speaker’s turn¹⁰. Further, the turn continues with a new prospective indexical, which provides an answer to the question the speaker has attributed to the chair: “**what an AA member is like - so it’s like this just here and now**” (5-6). Again this prospective indexical makes relevant an explication of what “**this just here and now**” means. The prospective indexicals are a methodical way to initiate an extended telling. In extract 6, the

turn initiation is designed in a somewhat different way than in the cases above, thereby allowing us a chance to elaborate further the turn opening patterns in AA.

Extract 6 (V1Markku0686)

- 1 M: Markku ja alkoholisti. (2.0)
Markku and an alcoholic. (2.0)
- 2 Mä oon tässä ollut matkoilla (1.0)
I have here been traveling
I've just been traveling (1.0)
- 3 eräiden AA-jäsenten kanssa (.) tuolla (0.5) Tukholmassa
some AA-members with there in-Stockholm
with some AA-members (.) there (0.5) in Stockholm
- 4 ja hhh (0.5) oli hyvin mielenkiintoinen matka siellä, (1.0)
and was very interesting journey there
and hhh (0.5) that was a very interesting trip, (1.0)
- 5 pääsin hyvin (.) tutustumaan itseäni ja. (1.0)
I-was-able well to-learn myself and
I got a chance (.) to learn a lot about myself and. (1.0)
- 6 .mth Mä muistan muutamav-muutamia vuosia sitten hhh
.mth I recall some:y- some years ago hhh
- 7 kun mä tulin tänne, tähän AA-yhteisöön ja, (1.5)
when I got here, to this AA-community and, (1.5)
- 8 mul-mä olin hyvin voi-yyh voimakkaasti alemmuudentuntoinen
my- I was very str- strongly feeling-inferior
my- I was feeling very stro- uh strongly inferior
- 9 ja (1.0) ja tuota yhm (1.0) vähättelin itseäni ja (0.8)
and (1.0) and er:m u:h (1.0) I belittled myself and (0.8)
- 10 (0.8) häpesin menneisyyttäni ja (1.0) tekojani ja (1.0)
(0.8) I was ashamed of my past and (1.0) my deeds and (1.0)
- 11 <kaikkia tämmösiä ja>. (0.8)
<all these things and>. (0.8)

In extract 6, the speaker does not provide any “floor-holding cues” after the conventional identification, and a lengthy gap, about two seconds, emerges after the opening line. However, no recipient makes an attempt to take a turn. The fact that none of the nearly 200 recipients comes in during this silence demonstrates

recipients' unanimous acceptance of the speaker's right to go on. Hence, both the speakers and their recipients treat the speakers as having the right to produce long multi unit turns. Under these circumstances, it is not interactionally consequential whether the speakers display their willingness to continue after the first turn constructional unit (as in extracts 4 and 5) or whether the recipients withhold from coming in. However, on both occasions the speakers are allowed to continue, and their right to go on is unanimously ratified. Note however that already the conventional design of the first utterance displays the speaker's understanding of the institutionality of the ongoing occasion, thereby initiating a turn as being a recognizable part of an AA meeting. After the turn is initiated in that fashion and the recipients have also recognized it as being a part of the AA meeting, the speaker may move on, and continue the construction of an extended turn as a turn in, and for, an AA meeting that has been ratified by both the speaker and the recipients. In this way, the AA meeting is a collaborative achievement, and its distinct system for turn-taking is an accomplishment that is based on participants' orientation to maintain and to manage this meeting format.

Further, extract 6 is slightly different from the cases above in that it does not have any explicit sequential position markers. Nevertheless, as extract 5 included an expanded identification (lines 2-3), which was prospectively linked to the telling of what an AA member is like, extract 6 includes a synopsis (lines 2-5) of a story to be subsequently told (lines 6-11). At lines 2-5, Markku tells that he has been traveling with some AA members and that the trip was interesting as he learned a lot about himself. After this *abstract* (see Labov & Waletzky, 1967), a story is told that reveals what he has learned about himself. (Note that only the beginning of the story is shown in extract 6). We find out that Markku's turn, even if it is not explicitly linked to previous turns, is topically connected to preceding talks. Markku tells his side of what an AA member is like. (Extracts 5 and 6 are from the same meeting.) The story itself is initiated with the help of a laminator verb "**I recall**" (line 6), which again is a common device for launching a story (Arminen, 1991).

To conclude, both speakers and recipients orient to turns being constructed as extended turns. The turns are allocated by the chair, and their order is preallocated on the basis of a list of volunteer speakers. The production of expanded units is a methodical accomplishment which relies on several members' methods, of which we have noted prospective indexicals, in particular. We may note yet another feature in common in turns in the Vuori group. All the turns presented share an autobiographical commitment. The prospective indexicals and abstracts that are used as devices for constructing tellable items all share a first-person stance. This shows that mutual help in AA consists of autobiographical reflection about personal problems and their solutions. Next we will discuss more in detail the types of turns used in AA.

ORIENTATIONS TO THE SHARING OF EXPERIENCES

Thus far we have explored the members' orientations to the format, the opening rituals, and the turn length at AA meetings. The members' orientations to the institutional constraints concerning turn design merit further consideration. We can get an idea of what should go inside the turns in the AA literature, such as in the steps, the traditions and the preamble (Anonymous, 1986/1952). Although the AA literature forms an identifiable ethical program, it does not amount to a clear set of rules for what and how members should speak at the meetings. Hints and suggestions can be found; for instance, members should not try to advise, diagnose or counsel each other at the meetings (Mäkelä et al., 1996, p. 142). Tradition ten directs members not to express opinions on outside issues and draw AA into controversial issues such as religion or politics (Anonymous, 1986/1952). Finally, the preamble maintains that the meetings are for the "sharing of personal experiences". This entails two prescriptions. First, it proposes that the participants take a first-person stance, thereby delimiting their talk to issues known by their own experience. Second, it suggests that these experiences are to be related in a special way: they are to be "shared." Personal stories are to be told in relation to each other in order to be recognized and identified with by the recipients. Regardless of whether the topic of the meeting is a step study, a tradition, or a personal story, participants are expected to cover it through their experiences. This limitation to personal experiences can be interpreted in various ways, and generally it is the individual member's responsibility to draw the lines on the subject and manner of speaking. As a whole, the responsibility to learn by participating and observing the proper behavior and speaking style is left to members, doing this is a part of AA's voluntaristic ethos.

Personal experiences are a broad category to the extent that it would not be reasonable even to try to give a full description of what is being talked about in AA. What counts as personal experiences is open to manipulation: almost anything can be said from a subjective, first-person stance (Goffman, 1981; Maynard, 1984; Clayman, 1992). Political opinions, unwelcome as they are, can be expressed, when they are stated from the viewpoint of the experiencing subject¹. "I talk of political matters as a personal problem, how Holkeri (Prime Minister) or Koivisto (President) make me mad when I see them on television" (citation from an interview of an AA member, in Mäkelä et al., 1996, p. 141). But generally, AA members orient to a more narrow interpretation of personal experiences². The focus on personal experiences entails that each member speak only on behalf of him/herself, and avoid imposing his/her views on others or criticizing others. A paradoxical consequence is that as long as AA members routinely avoid criticizing and commenting on other members, the existence of this orientation is very difficult to demonstrate. Each turn of talk is simply composed of personal experiences the content of which is highly variable but does not include critical evaluations of other members. The felicitousness of turns becomes observable and documentable

only on those occasions when some aspect of the talk is accounted for, or sanctioned as being somehow inappropriate. Sometimes speakers' orientations come to the surface of talk when they treat a part of their own talk as being improper (Arminen, 1996). Let us return to extract 6. Markku is telling how his trip with other AA members has liberated him from his feelings of inferiority, but then (line 20) he pays attention to the potentially inappropriate implications of his account.

Extension of 6 (VIMarkku0686)

- 6 .mth Mä muistan muutamav-muutamia vuosia sitten hhh
.mth I recall some:y- some years ago hhh
- 7 kun mä tulin tänne, tähän AA-yhteisöön ja, (1.5)
when I got here, to this AA-community and, (1.5)
- 8 mul-mä olin hyvin voi-yyh voimakkaasti alemmuudentuntoinen
 my- I was very str- strongly feeling-inferior
my- I was feeling very stro- uh strongly inferior
- 9 ja (1.0) ja tuota yhm (1.0) vähättelin itseäni ja (0.8)
and (1.0) and er:m u:h (1.0) I belittled myself and (0.8)
- 10 (0.8) häpesin menneisyyttäni ja (1.0) tekojani ja (1.0)
(0.8) I was ashamed of my past and (1.0) my deeds and (1.0)
- 11 <kaikkia tämmösiä ja>. (0.8)
<all these things and>. (0.8)
- 12 ↑Mä olin tuolla reissulla ja (1.6) huomasin että (0.8)
↑I was on that trip and (1.6) I noticed that (0.8)
- 13 .mth mulla on poistunu tämmöset- (.) tämmöset ajatukset (.)
 I have disappeared these-kind these-kind-of thoughts
.mth these kind- (.) these kinds of thoughts (.) have vanished
- 14 mielestä (.) aika pitkälti ja. (2.0) uuuh Huomasin ett mä e:hkä
 from-mind quite largely and I-noticed that I maybe
from my mind (.) quite largely and. (2.0) u::h I noticed that maybe
- 15 saatan=ett mä oon tervehtynyt hieman tällä alueella. (0.5)
 can that I have become-healthy a-bit in-this area
I can=that I've become a bit healthier in this respect. (0.5)
- 16 .hhh Mä(.hh) h(.hhh)uomasin et(.hh)tä
.hhh I(.hh) n(.hhh)oticed tha(.hh)t

- 17 → mä oon <a:i:van> turhaan väheksynyt itseäni, (1.0)
I've <co:mple:tely> in vain belittled myself, (1.0)
- 18 → kun mä katselin sitä joukkoa ympärillä,
when I was watching the group around,
- 19 → että mä oon <a:ivan> <i:han> turhaan, (1.0)
that I've <completely> <fully> in vain, (1.0)
- 20 → >siis< yhm-m-mää- >tää ei tarkoita sitä että mä arvostelisin,<
>I mean< u:h-I-I:- >this doesn't mean that I would criticize,<
- 21 → >mut mä uskoisin että mä oon niinku< yyh-#t#-
but I would-believe that I have like
>but I believe that I've like< uu:h-#t#-
- 22 → jollakin tavalla itse tuota (1.0) ruvennu muuttuu,=
in some way myself e:rm (1.0) begun to change,=
- 23 mun vaimoni sanoi tänää että, (0.3) .mth hän yhtyy sinuun,
my wife said today that, (0.3) .mth she agrees with you,
- 24 (0.3) et-tota @sä et oikein luota itsees,@
(0.3) th-er:m @you don't quite trust yourself,@

After Markku has started to state for a second time that he has belittled himself in vain (19), he leaves the utterance unfinished, pauses and produces an explanatory particle “**I mean**” [siis], followed with “**uh**” and the repeated “**I**” that is cut off (20). Then a repair is produced with a rejection component “**this does not mean that I would criticize**” (20), and the correction proper “**but I believe that I have ... begun to change**” (21-22). The repair concerns the implications of the prior segment. Just prior to the unfinished utterance, Markku says that he was watching the group around him (18). This explication of the context of his realization makes his statement vulnerable to being heard as a comparative judgement about the inferiority of his fellow members (e.g. while he was watching others he noticed that he had belittled himself in vain). His repair counters exactly this line of hearing: he points out that he is not assessing others critically but he himself has started to develop.

We find a similar kind of instance of self-monitoring for the implications of talk in extract 5. Kalervo is producing his version of “what AA members are like,” and subsequently makes a corrective formulation.

Extension of 5 (V1Kalervo0686)

- 4 .h Jos .hhh ↑Saku kysy että, (.)
.h If .hhh ↑Saku asked that

- 5 minkälainen on AA-AA:n jäsen
 what-kind-of is AA- member
 what an AA- AA-member is like
- 6 niin se on tä:mmö:nen just tässä ↑nyt.
 so it is this-kind just here now
 so it's li:ke thi:s just here and ↑now.
- 7 Paljon kärsiny vähän kokenu yyh
 A-lot suffered a-little experienced
 Suffered a lot experienced a bit of u:h
- 8 laitapuolen elämää .hh ollu pikkusen linnassa,=
 skidrow life have-been a-bit in-jail
 life in skidrow .hh been a while in jail,=
- 9 → =>no se nyt ei kuulemma ole< välttä:mätöntä,
 it now neg. have-heard is necessary
 =>well they say it isn't< ne:cessa:ry,
- 10 → mutta minun kohdalla se oli tar:peellista,
 but in-my case it was needful
 but in my case it was use:ful,
- 11 .hh kaikkee muuta vähän siltä väliltä (.)
 everything else a-bit in between
 .hh and everything else in between (.)
- 12 ja sitt minä vielä tunnustaudun olevani alkoholisti. .hhh
 and then I also avow being an-alcoholic
 and then I also avow to be an alcoholic. .hhh

After the third characteristic of an AA member “**been a while in jail**” (8), Kalervo latches a particle “**well**” [no] and speeds up to initiate a repair “**>well they say it isn’t necessary<**” (9), which rejects the implications of the trouble source, “**been a while in jail**”. Then, he produces the correction proper “**but in my case it was useful**” (10), whose type of operation is “explanation” (Schegloff, 1992, pp. 1312-1313). Kalervo states that for him, and for him only, jail was useful (or necessary) for getting into AA because the prison experience taught him to realize that AA might be a good idea. Thus, through his repair, Kalervo conveys the idea that even if prison was a useful experience for him, he does not want to suggest that it would be useful, and certainly not necessary, for all AA members.

Both the extracts above display the speakers’ ongoing process of monitoring their talk for any impressions arising from it that may potentially be unwanted and troublesome, and hence repairable. They demonstrate speakers’ relentless orienta-

tion to the avoidance of criticism against others or to the imposition of their own values on others. In extract 5, Kalervo amends the implication that he would see a prison experience as necessary for AA membership. In this way, he conveys his respect for the integrity of other members by not imposing his own standards on them. In a similar mode, Markku corrects the depreciatory and critical impressions of his comparative statement that he has belittled himself in vain. Here the word selection "**this doesn't mean that I would criticize**" indicates the speaker's devotion to the cause of the moral integrity of others, and the final part of his formulation "**I believe that I have ... begun to change**" points the finger of moral responsibility at himself.

To summarize, these extracts exhibit a moral work in which AA members assign the moral liability to themselves, and avoid imposing normative standards on others. In the Vuori group, speakers orient to sharing their experiences, and they avoid critically assessing others' behavior and turns of talk. Instead, speakers occasionally display that some aspect of their own talk has been incorrect and troublesome due to its critical tone (for a more detailed discussion about the specificity of some self-repair practices in AA, see Arminen, 1996). We may also note that these kinds of corrective formulations about the implications of one's own talk are reflexively related to the distinct formal turn-taking organization. They are not occasioned by recipients' responses, or the lack of a response, but they are based mainly on the self-monitoring of one's own talk. That is, these corrective formulations solve "embedded misunderstandings," since the suspension of close ordering makes it practically impossible for recipients to indicate these misunderstandings. (Although the lack of video materials does not allow me to judge the role of kinetic interaction.) In this sense, corrective formulations are anticipatory devices that allow AA members to maintain interactional arrangements that, for their part, occasion these devices. As the conversational close ordering is suspended, each speaker in turn becomes the solely responsible narrator of her/his experiences, which leads to accentuated self-monitoring of talk. Consequently, speakers in AA meetings display a considerable sensitivity toward other participants, thereby collaboratively maintaining an institutionally distinct setting in which delicate issues can be discussed without fear of direct confrontations.

Finally, we may also notice that speakers themselves orient to the sanctionable status of their talk on those rare occasions when they depart from refraining from criticism. Extract 7 provides us a case on the point.

Extract 7 (V9Kake0691)

- 1 K: Joo: minä oon Kake (.) ja alkoholisti (0.4)
Yeah: I'm Kake (.) and an alcoholic (0.4)
- 2 Mull on tänään erinomaiset suhteet vaimooni (.)
I have today a great relationship with my wife (.)

- 3 jota aikoinaan kutsuin riivinraudaksi (0.8)
who I once called a harpy (0.8)
- 4 ↑Ja hyvät suhteet mull on mielestäni
↑*and I think I have a good relationship going*
- 5 kaikkien ↑muittenkin ihmisten °kans:° (0.3)
with all other ↑other people °as well° (0.3)
- 6 Ja luultavasti lähtökohtana on se että (.)
And probably the basis for this is that (.)
- 7 AA:ssa mä oon kasvanu ymmärtämään
at AA I've learned to understand
- 8 ettei ihmisten tarvitte keskenään riidellä
that: people don't have to fight with each other
- 9 .h vaikka asioista oltais eri °mielt° (0.9)
.h even when they would °disagree° (0.9)
- 10 → ja koska (.) minä: h minä pyysin tän puheenvuoron (.)
and because (.) I: h I asked for a turn here (.)
- 11 sen takia (.) tähän yhteyteen
because (.) in this connection
- 12 (.) koska mä en voi osallistua enää
(.) because as a member of the Rantasalmi group
- 13 Rantasalmen ryhmän jäsenenä .h
I can no longer take part .h
- 14 Vuori-ryhmän asiakokouksiin (0.5)
in the business meetings of the Vuori group (0.5)
- 15 → Kuitenkin mä haluaisin tässä sanoa semmosen asian
However I'd like to say such a thing here
- 16 → .hh joka on.h meidän kaikkien yhteinen asia (.)
.hh which is .h a matter common to all of us (.)
- 17 → ja myöskin asiakokouksen asia
and also a matter of a business meeting
- 18 → .hh ja=jotta osaisin sanoa sen ly:hyesti:
.hh and=in order to be able to put it briefly:

- 19 → niin oon pannu sen paperille (0.8)
I've written it down on paper (0.8)
- 20 ja se kuuluu näin (.)
and this is how it goes (.)
- 21 @voidakseen toteuttaa ainoan päätarkoituksensa
@in order to pursue their only main purpose
- 22 .h perinteisiin pitäytyvät AA-ryhmät
.h tradition-bound AA groups
- 23 ovat jättäneet kiinteistöjen (.)
have handed over the management of real estate (.)
- 24 ja toimistojen hallinnon (.) sekä palkkojen maksamisen (.)
and office facilities (.) and the payment of wages (.)
- 25 sellaisille yhteisöille jotka toimivat
to such organizations that are
- 26 täysin irrallaan AA:sta sellaisenaan@ (.)
completely independent of AA as such@ (.)

The beginning of Kake's turn is unnotable. He tells about how he has learned to live with his wife and others without argument. At line 10, though, he starts to recount why he has asked to speak at this very occasion. Through this activity, Kake prepares the listeners for some impertinence to follow. His account displays an understanding that his turn will depart from the ordinary course of events, which is evidently justified. At lines 12 to 14, Kake explains an external contingency concerning his turn. As a member of another group (which is located in another town) he is no longer entitled to attend the business meetings of the Vuori group. Note also the way Kake formulates his tellable item. First he produces a prospective indexical "**However I'd like to say such a thing here**" (15). Then he produces a characterization about the tellable item: "**which is a matter common to all of us**" (16). In this fashion, Kake displays his understanding of the nature of expected talkable items in AA, and only afterwards does he state that the issue he is going to talk about would be "**also a matter of a business meeting**" (17). Kake also pays attention to a stylistic issue; subsequently he justifies the fact that he is going to read his "statement" from the written notes in order to be brief (18-19). Also, on other occasions, AA members display that they value spontaneous talk and not reading of notes. In all, Kake's departure from the normal course of the meeting has given us a good picture of what the speakers in the Vuori group are expected to talk about. Speakers orient to telling about matters common to all of them, experiences about their problems and the ways of dealing with them. The

speakers are not supposed to bring up controversial issues, start arguments, or criticize others in the meetings¹³. Finally, a spontaneous delivery of talks is preferred to written notes or preplanned speeches.

ON THE RELEVANCE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF TURN-TAKING FOR THE SHARING OF EXPERIENCES

We have shown that AA members in the Vuori group are oriented to sharing their experiences, and that normally turns of talk are designed so that each person speaks only on behalf of him/herself. This respect for others' integrity is the foundation for the sharing of experiences. However, we may wonder how this kind of an organization of interaction works as it does not seem to leave any possibilities for participants to counter turns that challenge the occasion and its aims. In that respect, Kake's turn discussed above is a good candidate for a turn that clearly is a departure from the primary purpose of mutual help. We can now look at how Kake's turn is received, thereby shedding light on the ways in which troubles inside the meetings are managed.

Extract 8 (V9Kake0691)

((Kake goes on reading. About two minutes omitted after the last extract. After Kake's turn the ordinary course of the meeting is disrupted as several speakers take turns that were not preallocated. These speakers have not been identified, and their turns have simply been marked with the symbols V (+ the turn number).))

- [illegible]

- 27 K: [Yhm
[Hm
- 28 (.)
- 29 V8: oma on mielipitees
it's your opinion
- 30 K: ni: se on MInun käsitykseni=
yeah: *it is MY view*=
- 31 V9: =puhu loppuun vaan=
=just finish your talk=
- 32 K: =JOTTA AILAHTLEVILLA AA:laisilla
=SO THAT UNSTABLE AA members
- 33 ei olisi tilaisuutta käyttää
would not have the chance to spend each
- 34 toistensa rahoja ryhmän nimissä kaikenlaisiin #vouhotuksiin#
other's money in the group's name on all sorts of #nonsense#
- 35 (.) AA:n kuudes perinne sanoo (.)
(.) AA's sixth tradition says (.)
- 36 että AA-ryhmän ei tulisi milloinkaan ryhtyä
that an AA group ought never
- 37 rahoittajaksi millekään sukulaisjärjestölle .hh
finance any related facility .hh
- 38 jotta raha-asiat (.) omaisuus (.) ja arvovalta (.)
lest money matters (.) property (.) and prestige (.)
- 39 eivät vierottaisi meitä alkuperäisestä tavoitteestamme
divert us from our primary purpose
- 40 .hh niinpä on lupa odottaa (.) että aa-kokousten normaali
.hh so we may expect (.) that the normal profits from
- 41 lipastuotto .h sen jälkeen kun ryhmän
collections at AA meetings .h once the group's
- 42 omat menot on maksettu .h luovutetaan
own expenses have been paid .h are transferred

- 43 kokonaan ja yksinomaan AA:n tileille (.)
in full and exclusively to AA's accounts (.)
- 44 silloin linja on selvä (.) avustusten kohteista
that'll be a clear line (.) about goals of aid
- 45 ei tarvitse KIIStellä >niinkun-nytkin-
there's no need to ARGue >like-right-now-we
- 46 meinas-tulla-kiista< .hh eikä sen tähden
almost-had-an-argument< .hh nor for that reason
- 47 rikkoo ryhmän rauhaa tai AA:n yhtenäisyyttä (.)
cause discord in the group or break AA's unity (.)
- 48 Tässä sanoin sen minkä halusin sanoa
I said here what I wanted to say
- 49 Vuoriryhmän entisenä [jäsenenä.] =Kiitos.
as a previous member of [the Vuori group.] =Thanks.
- 50 B: [rrrrrrrrrr]
- 51 A: tt tt tt tttttttTTTTTTtttt[tttttttttt tt t tt tt]
- 52 C: [Kiitos Kake. Enne]nko päästetään
[Thank you Kake. Before we let
- 53 (.) Heikki lukemaan loppusanoja
(.) Heikki read the closing words
- 54 (.) niin lyhyet ilmoittautumiset ANNA ja VUOKKO
(.) so could you briefly come forward ANNA and VUOKKO
- 55 >olkaa-hyvä< Anna ensin.
>please< Anna first.
- 56 Vu: Vuokko, ja olen tänään liittynyt Vuori-ryhmän jäseneks:
Vuokko, and I have today joined as a member of the Vuori group
- 57 (.)
- 58 A: tt tt tt tttttttttTTTTTTTTTTTTtttt tt tt

During the first three minutes of Kake's turn, that is, during the normal, reserved length for commentary turns (only part of the data shown), no audience reactions are heard on the tape. Of course, with the absence of video recording we

cannot tell whether any unusual “gesturing” takes place. However, the audio tape gives no hints about possible forms of disapproval (no disaffiliative laughter, whispering, buzzing, murmuring, booing nor an unusual amount of background noise is audible). This all gives us evidence regarding how strongly the participants in the Vuori group are committed to maintaining the format of these gatherings. The participants sustain their orientation to the nature of the gathering even during turns of talk, which they may consider impertinent. All this, however, is quickly changed after the speaker has used the time reserved.

After Kake has been talking, or more precisely, reading his statement for three minutes, the time signal is given (lines 5-6). This, as such, is a routine procedure (see Arminen, 1998, pp. 141-148). When the time signal starts, Kake was just starting to initiate a new utterance, as the inbreath indicates (4). Subsequently, instead of giving up his turn, Kake competes with the ringing by raising his voice **“IN ORDER THAT UNSTABLE AA members”** (7). This attempt to hold the floor despite the time signal is met with clapping at the middle of Kake’s ongoing construction of sentence (7/8). First only some persons clap, but soon many more start a loud burst of clapping (8-9). After the beginning of the clapping, Kake still tries to hold the floor by again increasing his volume **“members would no- not have the chance TO SPEND EACH OTHER’S MONEY”** (7, 10). But when the strong clapping continues, Kake gives up and the applause fades rapidly (9-10).

In this sequential environment clapping is not an affiliative response, but a technique for competing with the current speaker. This disaffiliative nature of the clapping is perspicuous in its orchestration (cf. Atkinson, 1984; Clayman, 1993). The clapping starts after the speaker has raised his voice (7/8), thereby opposing the speaker’s displayed intention to continue. Furthermore, the clapping dies off immediately after the speaker has fallen silent. Therefore it was not a favorable responsive applause, but a preventive, discouraging action. We may also notice that the speaker oriented to this nature of the clapping as he tried to overcome the applause with his raised voice instead of accepting it as a supportive gesture. Nevertheless, clapping is a relatively polite and disaffectionate way to challenge a speaker in contrast to potential alternatives such as booing¹⁴. The fact that clapping was used to discourage the speaker from continuing is in line with, and maintains the nature of the gathering as one in which no affective disapprovals, like booing, are shown. Again the avoidance of affective disapprovals is quintessential for sustaining “a safe haven” in which delicate issues can be discussed safely.

Subsequently, strife follows when the ratified speaker has been silenced with the help of clapping. At that point nobody holds the floor and the preallocated turn order collapses. After the ratified speaker has fallen silent (line 10), but not acknowledged the closing of his turn, the floor is open for interventions. We might think that the chair might come in, and call for order. However, in this case the chair does not come in, which for its part may be related to the chair’s perceived role as a servant to the group and not an authority (see tradition two: Anonymous, 1986/1952)¹⁵. As the chair has not taken the turn and the ratified speaker has fallen

silent, shouting begins (line 11). This is a very unusual happenstance in AA; it is the only case of public controversy in my materials from 12 meetings, a deviant case, in the strict sense of the term¹⁶. The frame of the meeting breaks down for a while.

At line 11, after Kake has stopped, somebody shouts “**time up**”. Kake then requests a right to finish his turn, and appeals to the fact that his turn is the last one of this meeting (12-13)¹⁷. But he is given straightforward negative answers by three subsequent speakers, of which the last one appeals to the rule that the turns are three minutes each (14-16). Next, some inaudible/hardly audible talk follows (maybe one of the chairpersons says something to Kake, lines 17, 19). Judging from Kake’s response (20), he was given the suggestion that the issue should be brought up in the business meeting. Kake refuses this suggestion on the basis of the fact that he is unable to attend the business meetings of the Vuori group (20, 23). At this point, the time signal is given again (21-22). As Kake does not give up, some new members enter into the debate, and this time express conciliatory views (25-26). Kake’s right to finish his turn is supported on the basis of the fact that “**otherwise there’ll be unnecessary**” (25). The end of the turn is inaudible, presumably an “unnecessary row” is what was meant. Subsequently, somebody still challenges Kake by stating: “**It’s your opinion**” (29), which sounds like a belittling of the value of Kake’s view. Interestingly, Kake responds with an overt agreement: “**yeah: it is MY view**” (30). This response can be heard as orienting to the AA context, where everybody is expected to express their own views only. After this conciliatory move, Kake is requested to finish his turn for a third time (31). At that point, Kake starts reading, which takes no more than about a half minute. After Kake has done a recognizable closing for his turn (48-49), and marked his closing with thanks, the meeting returns to its normal course. Kake’s turn is even responded to with applause, and the chair thanks him (51-52). The meeting then proceeds towards its end.

At the outset, we may notice that conflicts, as rare as they may be, do take place inside the AA meetings. However, we must also pay attention to the specific features of this conflict. First of all, even if a conflict took place, it concerned almost exclusively the speaker’s right to exceed the time limit; there was no overt argumentation about the content of his talk. As far as the conflict concerned the maximum length of the turn, it showed the participants’ orientation to the format of the gathering. Only one somehow substantial challenge was uttered “**It’s your opinion**” (29), but the potential argument was derailed with an overt agreement. Second, very soon after the conflict had burst out, an opinion was stated, and also supported, in which the avoidance of conflicts was presented as a goal itself. Finally, as soon as the problem of speakership was resolved, the strife faded away rapidly. In all, this conflict was managed in a manner that in itself suggests that there is an overwhelming orientation to the avoidance of public disagreements in the Vuori group.

As a whole, AA meetings are a scene where public rows are unusual. The

absence, or strictly speaking, the vagueness and the low frequency of conflicts in AA is reflexively related to the organization of interaction at the meetings. As long as speakers use extended turns in a preallocated order, then even the possibility for open argument is ruled out. Further, as long as each member speaks only on behalf of him/herself no debatable issues come to the surface of meetings. This orientation to the sharing of personal experiences still has some intriguing consequences. Namely, if speakers do not deal with others' experiences, this logically attributes the responsibility for bringing up one's own issues to each individual. The respect for others' integrity allocates the working of the recovery program to the duty of individual members. Consequently, AA as a way of life is a self-directed learning process. This emphasis on individual responsibility also covers meeting behavior. As much as AA meetings are based on a formal organization, they are also based on individual freedom to speak without the interference of other members. This, for its part, relies on the self-direction of each member, and on the members' trust in each other. Members counter each other's turns only on vanishingly rare occasions, but they rely on each other's abilities to learn the proper conduct, and to learn the AA way of life without being given direct advice in the meetings. To conclude, AA in its entirety is a cultural evolutionary process both for members and groups, based on voluntary participation¹⁸.

DISCUSSION

All AA meetings, regardless of their specific type, are interactional achievements where turn-taking is not an exterior condition but a vehicle used for the organization of the whole speech event. The specific institutional form of turn-taking characterizes AA meetings, and many tasks are carried out through the local management of that format. The mechanism of turn-taking becomes organizationally relevant not only for the allocation of speaking time but also for the handling of disruptions. Turn-taking offers a channel through which all the interlocutors of the meeting: the speaker, meeting officials, and the recipients, can jointly adjust the flow of events in relation to the shared purpose of the gathering.

Many ethnographers have also noticed the relevance of turn-taking for AA meetings. Denzin (1987, p. 116) gives an account of an extremely affective meeting (U.S., Midwest) where a relapsed member had displayed heartbroken desperation and burst into helpless crying. Denzin writes, "Each member who spoke after this individual thanked him for coming back. A box of tissues was passed to him as he cried. Members offered him rides to other meetings. His show of emotion was not taken, then, as a sign of the loss of face." Denzin's note tells us not only that the show of emotion was esteemed and respected but also of the way in which it was done. According to Denzin's depiction nobody approached the member, only a box of tissues was passed. Further, the ordinary round of turns took place despite the emotional leakage. The members' sustained orientation to the format of a gathering enables AA meetings to handle flows of emotion and burning desires with-

out uncontrollable escalation. The rules of turn-taking also help to minimize the risk of open conflicts. Johnson (1987, p. 464) gives an account of a meeting in California where a person (Rob) challenged multiaddicted members of the group by claiming that drugs were not a proper topic for AA meetings: "Rob was never challenged, outright, in the meetings . . . Subsequent speakers simply (discussed) their own experiences (with drugs) gently after Rob spoke. Since Rob had had his turn, he could not counter." Indeed, were the AA members always respectful of the meeting format, then no open conflicts would be possible in the meetings.

The practical and organizational relevance of the AA meeting format can also be illuminated with comparisons to the activities carried out before and after the meeting. During these occasions AA members interact mainly with other AA members, but they are not tied to the format of the AA meeting. More mundane concerns are expressed and the special meaning of AA meetings becomes observable in contrast. Moreover, we can claim that the specificity, the *just this-ness* of AA meetings is produced as they are sequentially molded out of their surrounding context. As no recordings of the before and after the meeting activities are available, we must now rely on ethnographic notes in this respect. The following note is based on an observation of a small, intimate open meeting in Helsinki.

During the meeting the telephone rang. Later the person who had answered the phone commented in his turn that he had done his twelfth step's work by telling the caller that they were having a meeting, and by reminding the caller of this chance. After the meeting the issue was taken up. The caller's name was mentioned (he was a member who had just fallen off the wagon). Another member commented that it was not a surprise; one and a half months was one of the longest periods of sobriety this fellow had ever managed in his numerous attempts. Somebody said: "He's a slipper." Conversation continued. (Field note, Helsinki, April, 1989)

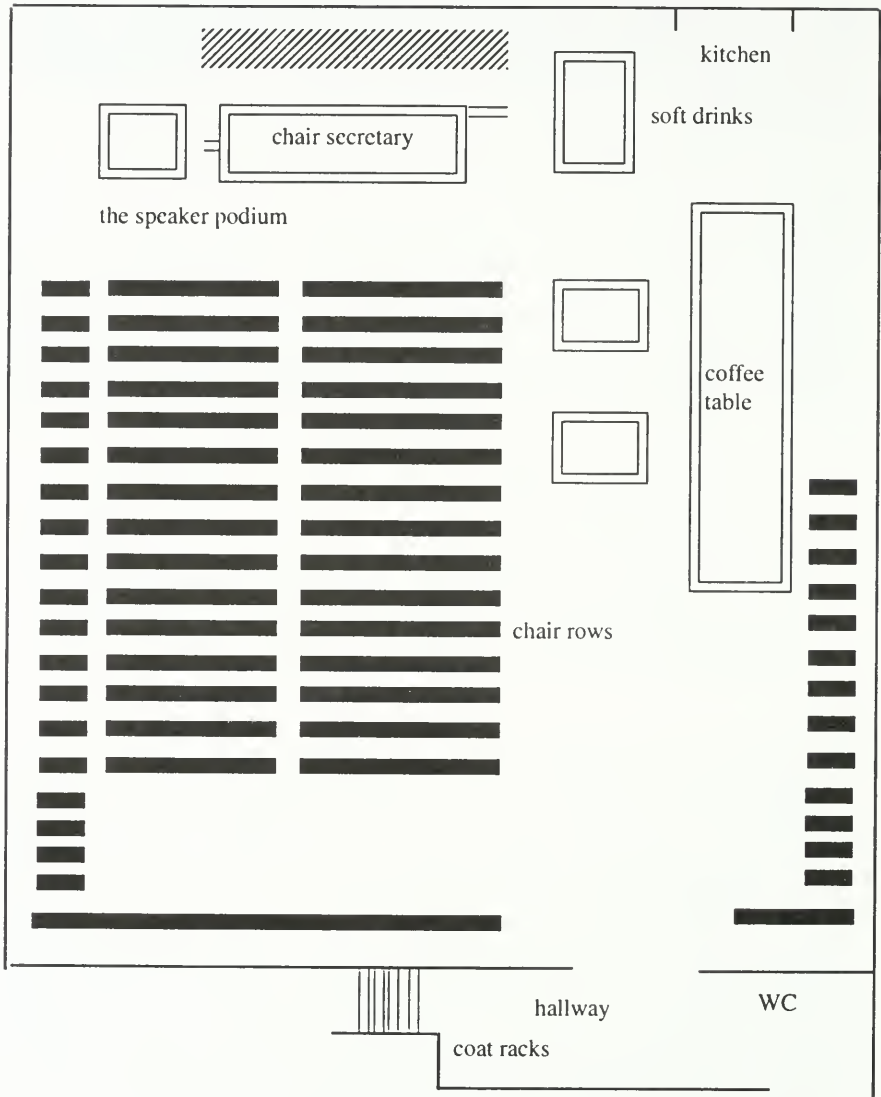
In their meetings AA members are oriented toward a specific institutional order with delimited participation rights. Turn-taking follows a preallocated path and members orient to sharing their experiences. In the note above, the member who had answered the phone oriented to the organization of the meeting by waiting for his turn. Instead of rushing to deliver the news, he formulated the incident from an AA viewpoint by telling of his attempt to carry the message, but he refrained from getting involved in the caller's issues. He avoided bringing up the caller's issues to the surface of the meeting and, thus, secured for his part the ordinary flow of the meeting. But noticeably, before and after the meeting no institutional restrictions are oriented to and ordinary conversation with gossip and everyday moral assessments can take place. In contrast, the meeting with its restrictive format is apt for dealing with delicate personal matters without argument and personality clashes. The system of turn-taking in AA rules out serious conflicts, thereby making meetings suited for sensitive, personal issues. This adjustment is accomplished through specific delimitations of the organization of interaction, of which the specific system for turn-taking is the most fundamental.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The floor plan of the hall for the Vuori-group open meeting



(adapted from Haavisto 1992: Appendix 3)

Appendix B: Transcription symbols

The speakers' names, and possibly some other details, have been changed in order to secure the anonymity of the persons involved.

Transcription symbols and conventions of conversation analysis are used throughout the extracts (see Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). The contributions coming from the audience are identified with the speakership symbol A: i.e., A: [coughing], the chair's with C, and other speakers' with the initial of the speaker's name. Other additional symbols are listed below.

The translation uses two lines, when necessary. The lowest line is an 'idiomatic' translation, and most analyses can be followed with the help of that line only. The line in between is a 'gloss', which is used when the idiomatic translation diverts syntactically from the original speech. The gloss provides the reader a possibility to follow word-by-word the proceeding of the original speech. Interpretations are added if necessary. The extremely long extracts, however, have been usually presented without the gloss.

Extracts have been identified with the following code: [number of recording in corpus][the name of the ratified floor holder][month and year of the recording], i.e., V3Pave0990: Vuori-group meeting #3, in which a turn is allocated to Pave, September 1990.

@ @	animated voice
° °	diminishing voice
# #	shivering voice
rrrr	bell
ttTtt	applause

NOTES

An earlier version of the paper is a part of the PhD dissertation monograph "Therapeutic Interaction. A Study of Mutual Help in the Meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous" (Helsinki, 1988).

¹One of the basic divisions in AA is between open and closed meetings. "Closed" meetings are only for AA members, i.e., for those who identify themselves as (recovering) alcoholics - there are no formal membership criteria. "Open" meetings are, in principle, open for everybody. In practice, the meaning of this distinction is variable. Any "closed" meeting may be attended by a visitor if all the participants accept it. Some of the open meetings may practically be closed, i.e., visiting "outsiders" are very rare. For instance, in the Vuori group all the speakers are AA members.

²The restrictions posed by the tradition of anonymity generally preclude videorecordings. Naturally, the lack of video recordings is unfortunate, as we cannot make use of gaze and non-verbal gestures. However, some setting features may alleviate this loss. My own observations, and other ethnographic materials (Mäkelä et al., 1996, pp. 142-152) suggest that intensive eye contact may be avoided in AA meetings. The delicacy of the situation and the respect of the integrity of persons who admit their personal failures, may be partially constructed with the help of cautiousness toward others. The speaker's devotion to autobiographical reflection can occasionally be seen also from a vacant look, as the speaker's eyes, metaphorically speaking, are turned inside. The more or less unconditional ban on video recordings is itself part of this phenomenon through which a spiritual, even a sacred atmosphere is built. Moreover, the large size of the meeting hall and the large number of attendants may additionally weaken the chances for intensive eye contact in the Vuori group (see Appendix A for the floor plan of the Vuori group). The use of audio signals to mark the end of time for each turn demonstrates that not only talk but setting itself is organized aurally.

³Transcription conventions and the code, which locates each extract, are explained in Appendix B.

⁴In some areas the identification is followed with a response in chorus: "My name is Jane" - the group in unison: "Hi Jane!" This feature, sometimes taken as emblematic for AA, is not universal. This custom is especially common in the U.S., but in many areas outside the Anglo-Saxon world, like in Finland, it is totally missing (Mäkelä et al., 1996, pp. 149-150).

⁵It may be worth stating that there are also other activities during meetings that are not discussed here, which can be called sideline activities, such as money collection and serving of refreshments. These activities, as important as they may be for AA and its members, are carried out alongside the meeting; they form the sideline for the gathering. Money collection usually takes place during the discussion, but it may be carried out during any phase of the meeting, and in any case it is not supposed to be a shared target of attention of all the participants. Money collection is naturally of great organizational significance, as each AA group is economically self-supporting (Mäkelä et al., 1996, pp. 85-95). In the Vuori group refreshments are served after the meeting. In some neighborhoods, like that of the Vuori group, homeless occasionally attend meetings for a hot cup of coffee. They are usually let in, and even welcomed, if they are not aggressive and do not smell absolutely disgusting. As graphic and telling as these kind of details might be, I have not tried to cover them systematically in my study.

⁶This selection of topics is relatively representative for the Vuori group in recent years (Haaavisto 1992), except that steps are talked about on average in every third meeting. The meetings where steps are discussed are underrepresented in my material. But my sense is that this does not heavily influence my study, as "discussion" is based on "autobiographical footing" in any case.

⁷The specific focus of the study is on the commentary turns, as they provide us access to the creation and maintenance of intersubjective meaning of individual experiences in AA. Most of the following observations apply also to the opening turn as well (for the relationship between the opening turn and the commentary turns, see Arminen, 1998, pp. 179-201).

⁸Irrespective of whether my analysis here is factually true, the fact that many AA members have special AA names demonstrates that for them, there and at that point, the AA identity is a choice, and that that they do have multiple identities, of which the AA identity is but one. Furthermore, this creates an interactional contingency between AA members, who know each other also outside AA. In those occasions, persons have to choose which identity to make relevant, and respectively, which name to use, etc. Through my personal contacts with AA members, I know that this issue is real for them. AA members have different solutions in terms of how wide role distance between AA identity and everyday identity they choose to construct. However, a broader discussion of this issue falls beyond this study.

⁹Noticeably, cultural differences come into play at this stage. The recordings from the U.S. Al-Anon conference (thanks to Bonnie Duran) show that many speakers made wise cracks soon after the opening line. My sense is that this is common in many large open AA meetings in the U.S., but rare in the Vuori group. It is not that the turns of talk in the Vuori group lack humor, but the joking is located at a later point in the turn. These kind of comparisons might increase our understanding of different cultures.

¹⁰My sense is that in this particular meeting, the chair's summary of the opening speaker's turn was found somewhat problematic by many commentary speakers. They seem to have found it improper, or tactless, that the chair raised the question 'what an AA member is like' (as if an AA member would not be just like anybody else). This case would provide additional material for the theme 'conflicts and coalitions in the meetings,' which I will deal with subsequently. In other meetings, there are not many references to the chair's summary turn, therefore I have concluded that the chair's turns are not ostensively procedurally relevant, even if they undoubtedly form a part of the 'taken-for-granted' interactional texture of these meetings.

¹¹Note that the problem here is exactly the opposite of that in political news interviews, in which the interviewer has to avoid expressing personal opinions (if the "neutralistic" paradigm rules). A skillful broadcaster can, however, express all the opinions she wishes as long as they are attributed to somebody other than herself (Clayman, 1992; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991).

¹²We may make use of the notion 'prototypicality.' There seem to be prototypical personal experiences, and then entities that can only loosely speaking be called personal experiences. Noticeably, also the interviewed AA member oriented to the fact that his way of speaking about "political matters as personal problems" was transgressing the boundaries. Generally, members of a culture seem to be very well aware of these distinctions, which are fundamental social facts concerning the social distribution of knowledge.

¹³We may also note that this instance has brought to our attention some organizational details about

AA. A part of the specificity of AA's regular weekly meetings seems to derive from the division of labor between these meetings and the business meetings. Issues, like decisions concerning the uses of profits gained from the collection and many other practical matters are dealt with in the separate business meetings. The separation of business meetings seems to be an organizational precondition for the regular weekly meetings to be concentrated solely on mutual help. The distinctive status of business meetings becomes observable through the fact that participation in these meetings is reserved for group members only, in contrast to normal AA meetings, which either are open to all AA members or to anybody interested (open meetings).

¹⁴This case is not unique in terms of "clapping." Clapping is recurrently used to discourage a speaker from continuing in cases when a speaker aims at initiating new construction units after the recipients have felt that the turn has become pragmatically completed (Arminen 1998, pp.168-177).

¹⁵Naturally, a video tape would again be helpful: we do not know whether the chairpersons of the group tried somehow to handle the situation or whether they just let it pass.

¹⁶A parallel instance was also found in the AA conference recordings (Espoo). There strife broke out on one occasion when some participants were denied the right to take turns. (The organizers of that session had planned it as a "speaker meeting" where no extra turns besides preallocated turns would be allowed; but not everybody seemed to know that). In addition, there are ethnographic notes about a meeting (in a group other than the Vuori group) in which the intoxication of the chair led to an open controversy. Generally, these kind of disruptions are very rare in AA.

¹⁷Again it is an interesting ethnographic detail that Kake was given the last turn. The odds that it was a mere coincidence are 1/20. Presumably, either he had requested to speak last, or the meeting officials had anticipated a problem and given him the last turn. The latter case would be interesting in that he was given a turn even if a problem was anticipated. My understanding is that AA works in such a way that there is no control over to whom the turns are given. (This already follows from the lack of membership criteria, tradition three, Anonymous 1986/1952.)

¹⁸Intriguing questions could be posed about how the organization of a speech event is related to the organization of its larger context, i.e., how AA meetings are related to the organization of AA fellowship. We may note that AA lacks centralized organization and thereby is not dependent on any individual group. If some AA group dies off, as sometimes occurs, then those members who want to continue can seek other AA groups or establish new ones. The organization of fellowship allows the emergence of "the rules of discourse" at AA meetings, which are not strongly directive toward an individual member. This lack of normative pressure respectively characterizes AA at a higher organizational level. We may also imagine that the minimization of normative pressure increases the attractiveness of AA, thereby strengthening the fellowship.

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Ilkka Arminen is one of the co-authors of "Alcoholics Anonymous as a mutual-help movement" (Wisconsin University Press, 1996), and the author of "Therapeutic interaction - A study of mutual help in the meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous" (Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, 1998). He has also published in *Text*, *The Sociological Quarterly*, *International Journal of Sociology* and *Social Policy*, and *Contemporary Drug Problems*, and in numerous edited collections, and Scandinavian Journals. Contact information: STAKES, P.O. Box 220, 00531 Helsinki, Finland; Tel 358-0-3967 2160; Fax 358-0-3967 2170; ilkka.arminen@stakes.fi

Life with the alien: role casting and face-saving techniques in family conversation with young children

Marilena Fatigante, Alessandra Fasulo, Clotilde Pontecorvo
Università di Roma La Sapienza

The present article focuses on the distribution of participation in family interaction involving young children (3-5 years old). Adopting a purely qualitative method of analysis, we show instances of family dinnertime conversations in which children appeared banned from participation, while they are the topic of the ongoing talk. We have called "backstage interaction," sequences adjacent to those in which the child is involved, and within her/his auditory range, so that the child projected participation role alternates between that of addressee and overhearer. We argue that the "backstage talk" in the child's presence has the main effect of casting the current interaction with the child as a representation, in Goffman's terms (1959). Though, the child is left the opportunity to enter again the conversation: the person involved is interested in layering the self/s/he exposed, offering the child a "fictional self" to interact with, thus preserving their face from the incumbent threat of the child's impoliteness or embarrassing "spontaneity".

For the Wishram, children's pre-speech babblings were considered sensible transmission in a language known only to babies, dogs and coyotes.¹

Interactional routines with children show great variation across different cultures, which are not arbitrary but linked to the societal organization in general, and to the folk psychologies and theories of childhood that certain social groups may share. Different societies solve in different ways the common problem of socializing novices to the moral standards and the behavioral norms of the group. The ways social groups interpret and adapt to the newcomer is of interest for the social scientist not only for what child rearing practices do to the child, but also for what they reveal about the societies' own organization and assets.

In this paper we will be concerned with the organization of participation in talk when children are present, assuming that the different ways by which a child is addressed or, more generally, treated as a participant can play a meaningful role in socializing him/her to what it means to be a member of a given cultural environment. In the following we will briefly review the literature which guided our analysis of examples of participation framework² drawn by a corpus of Italian families' interactions.

1. THE SOCIALIZATION TO PARTICIPATION FRAMES: AN OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Oral language has the issue of reciprocity at its core: conversation analysis

has stressed how talk is always recipient-designed (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974 *inter alia*), and how reciprocity is shaped by talk both at the level of the utterance (e.g., assessments: Goodwin and Goodwin, 1992) and the speech event (e.g., narratives). Learning to speak thus means learning to recognize and address different kinds of audiences, and understand the kinds of reciprocity one is cast upon by the talk of others. Participation frameworks equal social organization within domains of activity, and are both instruments and objects of children's socialization.

In her study of childhood in western Samoa, Ochs (1988) has pointed out the relationship between the Samoan concept of respect in its dimensions of attentiveness, perspective-taking and adjustments to others and the ways these interactional attitudes affect interactions with children. She has also illustrated an element of socialization of basic import for our discussion, namely the way children are taught to distinguish among the degrees of seriousness of actions addressed to them. This point relates to the significance, in Samoan life, of the "sense of performance," namely the awareness of the different audiences possibly involved - or likely to be involved - in an interaction and the changes in the meaning and predictable consequences of the communicative act when a secondary audience is present. Thus,

children come to understand the affective meanings of behavior with respect to this communicative relationships. Behavior that is meant to be witnessed or overheard will be interpreted differently from behavior that is meant only for a particular addressee. The first has a quality of performance and display in ways that the second does not (Ochs, 1988, p. 166).

Such a relationship between the seriousness of the speech and addressed audiences seems to be related to other aspects of the Samoan life style which cannot be assumed to be relevant for the Italian context as well. However, a sense of the thresholds between areas of social life is probably part of the socialization process in all social groups where a distinction exists between private and public domains of action.

In multiparty interactions with a majority of adults, children's participation can be restricted to a minimum. From North Europe come observations on the treatment of children in the presence of both familiar and unfamiliar adults, like physicians or psychologists. Here children are likely to be *talked about* as if they were not present or could not hear adults' words. Aronsson and R  ndstrom (1989; see also Aronsson, 1991), in clinical consultations between doctors, patients from 5 to 15 years and their parent/caregiver, found that the two adults (but more typically the mother) frequently gave the child/youngster the status of a peripheral participant, an overhearer to the talk in progress; the child was denied the right to take turns even during discussions about his physical conditions, about which she/he could be the best available source. However, during such interactions, talk can be addressed to the child by either adult to gain her/his affiliation and sympathy

and to restrain the authority and/or control of the other adult as concerns the child. In the same setting, the child can also be used as an *intermediary* (Goffman 1959; Haviland, 1986; Levinson, 1988) for the mother to mitigate her threats to the doctor's *face* (Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987), as when she does not agree with some of her/his suggestion and invokes her child's physical intolerance as a justification. Similarly, the doctor may use the child as an intermediary when s/he weakens her/his reproach to the mother's inattentiveness jokingly blaming the child for some "foolish" behavior (for which the mother is covertly held responsible). Thus, the degree to which the child is acknowledged as a legitimate participant has been shown to vary across different kinds of interactions and within the course of the same interactional episode, according to the respect generally attributed to their person.

In another clinical multiparty encounter - the family therapy setting (Cederborg, 1994) - variations can be even more marked. Whereas parents often try to keep children out of the conversational arena, to prevent themselves from the threat the child's interventions could represent to their face as good parents, the therapist is reported to select children as addressees, casting them as side participants, that is, informing them of what they, the practitioners, are going to do, and monitoring the child's reactions. What happens then is a sort of situated learning process similar to the *apprenticeship* (Lave and Wenger, 1991) in which the therapist, by alternating the participant status of the child from addressed to unaddressed recipient, draws the child from being a peripheral participant to being a more central/focal one, and eventually, to being recognized by the parents.

Up to now we have considered children's participation as totally in the hands of the adults' moves. A different perspective would look at their resources for actively selecting themselves as participants of an ongoing exchange. For instance, Goodwin and Goodwin (1990) have described how preadolescents and adolescents negotiate their role during conflict interaction between two primary agents: participation was accomplished by embedding contributions (i.e. actions) in the *interstices* of the ongoing talk (namely between adjacency pairs).

The studies mentioned above are focused on degrees of participation, which are not dependent on formalized roles but are linguistically created in a turn-by-turn fashion. Issues of participation are to be detected in the grammatical features of the language (e.g. suffixes indexing genre in Japanese; see Ochs, 1992) and reflected in the set of *indexicals*, the linguistic devices which semantically and pragmatically anchor the utterance to its context. Deixis is the fundamental linguistic resource concerning the participant role, pronouns obviously playing a central part, though not exhaustive, for shaping participation frameworks (see also Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). Shifts in voice pitch and loudness can contribute to audience lamination (Goffman, 1981). Non-verbal aspects can play also their role, postural aspects and eye-contact offering more specificity than voice, given his "broadcast quality", can provide for (Levinson, 1988).

We will be concerned with the participation shifts observable in the speech

of parents, and in the way children orient their verbal and non-verbal conduct to the available indexes, taking on or reshaping the participant roles reserved to them. We want to argue that families develop interactional devices to cope with their youngest members (in our corpus, ranging from 3 to 5 years) whose readiness and willingness to cooperate cannot be taken for granted. This poses a problem of *face* for the interactants both individually and as a social group. By acting upon participation frameworks, the exchanges with the young children can be lent a status of relative “non-seriousness”, so that members are afforded a conversational space for addressing children without putting their face at stake. In turn, such discursive practices are constructive as concerns the children’s understanding of their role, and ultimately in the definition of both childhood and family as socio-cultural realities.

2. BACKSTAGE TALK IN THE CHILD’S PRESENCE

In the following we will show instances of family conversations in which the child is spoken of in the third person during talk among two or more other members of the family. This has been observed to happen in sequences adjacent to those in which the child is involved, and within her/his auditory range, so that the child’s projected participation role rapidly alternates between that of addressee and that of overhearer³.

Given that in the side-interactions we have found the content of talk is the ongoing exchange with the child in the main interaction, whether in the form of comments to the immediately previous speech or of decisional strategies as to what to say next, they can be likened to the kind of interaction described by Goffman (1959) as taking place in the *backstage*. Here, members of an *equipe* (two or more people engaged together in a representation before an audience) can gather, dismiss the performance clothes and work at putting up the representation, or ironically producing comments, parodies of it or of some member of the public⁴.

Goffman says that territories are characterized by obstacles to perception, so that the *backstage* area is separated by *frontstage* by sight and/or sound barriers. He thus seems to treat the notion of *backstage* and *frontstage* quite literally, making them correspond to respectively informal and formal interactions. However, he is also aware of their dynamic nature and asserts that backstage can be anywhere one “behaves backstage.” Furthermore, in his discussion of alignments and re-alignments of *equipes*, he argues that ordinary conversation is an ideal context to study the partitioning of interactional territories, in that shifts of alignment are common, and tactics are visible. The interest of the cases at hand is for us that they show the autonomy of the discursive practice from the physical conditions of the setting, offering us an environment in which to observe what “doing backstage” can accomplish when practiced in different social conditions from those described in Goffman’s examples. It should be noted that, given the conversational framework into which we have transposed Goffman’s theoretical notions, the term *equipe*

will have a very local meaning, not indicating a stable group or dyad but only the interactants who at a given moment are speaking about someone present using the third person.

Let's begin to see what we mean by *backstage* side-interactions.

(arrows indicate backstage talk)

Excerpt 1. Quinto Family, dinner 1st

Participants. Mother, Father, Samuele (11 years) Adriana (4 years).

((The father sits in front of the camera view. At his left, in the order they are sitting, there are Samuele and Adriana, while the mother has the camera behind her shoulder))

1. Father: senti perché non [assa:ggi::
listen why not you [ta:ste::
look why don't you [ta:ste:: ((to Adriana))
[((he points to his plate with his chin))
2. Father: un pochino di pasta questa qui (.) [poca=poca?
a little bit of pasta this one here (.) [little=little?
some of this pasta here (.)[just a=little?
3. Adriana: [perché gno] ↓gno
[because gno] ↓gno
[because no] ↓no
(in a whining tone of voice; she does not look at her father))
4. Mother: → già glie-l' ho [detto=
→ already to her that I have [told=
→ *I already [asked her= ((to Father))*
(.) I((Father addresses a rapid glance to Mother))
5. Father: =[du:e (.) due piccolini?
=[two: (.) two small ones + diminutive?
=[two: (.) *two small ones* ((looking at Adriana))?
[((Adriana takes her spoon on her right))

(2.5) ((Father is still looking at Adriana,
who stirs a spoon in her glass; then he starts eating,
turning his gaze away from the child))
6. Adriana: è acqua?
is water?
(turning to mother)) is it water? ((what Adriana has in her glass))
7. Mother: °si°
°yes°
°yes°

The father is here involved in an interaction with his young daughter, trying to make her eat a few pieces of the pasta she has on her plate. Immediately after the child's refusal the mother informs the father that she had previously tried to do what he is now doing, with a turn that refers to Adriana in the third person. The utterance is delivered rapidly but the voice volume is not particularly low. The father does not take up, at least verbally, the mother's utterance and does "continuation" (Jefferson, 1972), without repeating the entire offer but just proposing a new version of the object (two small ones) as an appendage to his previous question. Adriana does not reply to his second attempt.

Now, the mother's intervention, the topic of which is the father's verbal move, has the effect of casting on it the light of a "representation", namely the kind of interaction that Goffman (1959) defined as typical of frontstage, involving members of the *equipe* and outsiders. Whereas the father's utterance may be seen as a sudden and spontaneous initiative (line 1), the mother makes it part of a series - another try performed by a member of a dyad (so transformed in an *equipe*) sharing the goal of feeding the child. In so doing, she weakens strength and sincerity of the father's move. It could be argued, following this interpretive line, that the child's silence after her father's request is partly due to this delegitimation of his action.

Shifting attention to the role of the "public", or non-*equipe* persons, it remains to be seen what they do with themselves when talk is going on in which they are protagonists but not participants.

In excerpt 1, we have seen that the father's first offer to the child was replied to in a consonant fashion. It was, in fact, delivered in the syntactic form of a request ("why don't you...") - a form which, not only in Italian, is a tactful kind of proposal treating the interlocutor as having the right to a motivated refusal. The move is sweetened and affectively marked (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1989; Ochs, Pontecorvo, Fasulo, 1997) by the use of diminutives and repetition of the quantity modifier (line 2: *un pochino, poca poca*: literally *a little bit+diminutive, little little*), so it is in typical baby talk register. The child picks up the form for his rebuttal: "because no" (line 3) is a common children's answer which states a position but withholds justification. The child is whining, thus complying with (or exploiting) the baby identity she is offered (she had been in a good mood up to that moment). After the mother informs the father that she had previously invited the child to eat, he tries again (lines 5). The child does not answer but appears concentrated on her glass, stirring a spoon in it, and then shifts to a new topic asking the mother about the content of the glass (line 6). Is she attending to her? After all, she is complying with her exclusion from her parents' discourse, "unplugging" herself from the discourse circuit; her avoidance to plug in again, though, sequentially disconfirms the father's attempt to continue, while being consistent with the mother's implicit judgment of its uselessness. In this vein, Adriana would be displaying a sort of "impersonal hearing".

In the next excerpt (that will be analyzed in two segments), we can see how

side-interactions are a common feature of conversations with children, a built-in procedure to sustain interaction with the family as a whole while keeping the child "logged on." A proper backstage exchange takes place only in the second segment of the excerpt, but in the first we see that the child is addressed in the opening of the new topic, and immediately talked about in the third person after his reply. It is the child's reaction to a turn in the side-interaction that triggers backstage talk later in the development of the conversation.

Just after the father has opened the new topic with a question to the child (line 1), the topic, of which he is still the protagonist, is continued among the father, the mother and the elder brother, who are making up a shopping list for Gabriele's new sports activity (lines 2-12). This kind of talk in the third person is similar to that observed by Aronsson and Ründstrom (1989) in the medical setting, namely with the grownups taking decisions and making choices regarding the young ones.

Excerpt 2a. Gennari Family, dinner 5

Participants. Mother, Father, Silverio, (8 years), Gabriele, (3 years).

((The father sits in front of the camera; at his right there is Gabriele, while Silverio sits at his left. The mother is out of the camera view))

1. Father: domani inizi pure te allora?
tomorrow begin also you then?
((to Gabriele)) so you will start tomorrow ((to play football)) isn't it?
2. Gabriele: sì
yes ((quietly))

(1.0)
3. Father: domani tocca anna-ie a comprà [i °scarpini°.
tomorrow (it) ought go for him to buy [°shoes +diminutive°
((to the mother)) tomorrow we should get him
((hinting with his head to Gabriele)) the soccer [°shoes°
4. Mother: [ah te l' ha detto? (0.5)
[uh, to-you that (he) has told? (0.5)
[uh, did he tell you? (0.5)
5. Father: ()
(something inaudible)
((looks at Gabriele and then turns to the mother))
6. Mother: ma sei sicuro? (0.5)
but are (you) sure? (0.5)
are you sure? (0.5)

7. Mother: comincerà co' le scarpe da ginnastica, [i scarpi::ni
(he) will begin wi' the shoes for gymnastics [sho::es+dim.
he'll begin with gymshoes, ((critical)) [the football shoe::s
8. Father: [no=no, (.) lu(i) inizia co(n) gli (.) coi scarpi:ni,
[no=no, (.) he begins wi(th) the (.) with shoes+dim.,
no=no, (.) he'll begin with football sho:es,
((with list intonation, looking steadily at the mother))
9. Mother: mhm
mhm ((going out the video field))
10. Father: co-l completo de'a Ro:ma,
with the ga:rmment of the Rome,
with the Rome ga:rmment,
((still listing; looking to Gabriele. Rome is here the soccer team))

(1.0)
11. Silverio: [eh:
eh: ((nodding))
12. Mother: [sì:
[yes::
[yeah:: ((ironic))

The child is invited into the conversation as a focal participant with a simple yes/no question, to which he promptly responds with an affirmative answer (line 2). The father then switches to the mother announcing the plan of buying Gabriele (now referred to in third person) the specifically needed shoes (line 3). The mother displays her uncertainty regarding the necessity of the expense at this stage of the child soccer career (lines 6, 7). At this point, (going from 8 to 10) the father enlarges his audience to include Silverio, the elder brother. The mention of the team is in fact a way to select reciprocity through informational means (Levinson, 1988). Silverio indeed provides a reply (line 11). Note that in line 10, the father is continuing a sentence in which the young son was referred to in the third person, but he also transfers his look onto Gabriele. Different participation indexes are here used to encompass the three members of the family, the mother being the official addressee of the sequence, the eldest son called in by the evolution of the topic and the youngest one by means of eye-contact.

The father's turn in lines 8 and 10 marks also a transition toward a more playful tone of the discourse, so that, in the decision taking process, he figures as the children ally against the mother's exhibited detachment to soccer issues. Such discursive keying is another way by which children's participation is progressively resumed in the sequence. The multiple reciprocity embedded in the father's turn

can be observed in the responses he gathers from each of the members, approval (that of the elder son in line 11), irony (that of the mother in line 12) and surprisingly challenge (that of Gabriele in the next segment).

Excerpt 2b.

13. Gabriele: [E NO:!
[AND NO:!
[NO:! ((shaking head, looking to the father))

(0.5) ((father, first nodding at Gabriele, suddenly stops))
14. Gabriele: col completo d'a Lazio
with the garment of the Lazio
((banging the knife on the table)) *with the Lazio garment*
((the competing team of the city))
15. Gabriele: i- io se non me- se me- se me
I- I- if one not me- if me- if me
I- I- if one doesn't- if does- if does ((nods toward the father))
16. Gabriele: mette quello d'a: Roma non ci vengo proprio a calcio (2.0)
puts on me that of the Rome I don't there come at all at soccer
if you get me to wear the Rome garment
[I don't even go to play soccer
[[his look leaving Father to get back to his plate]]

(2.0) ((the father looks at the mother; she laughs silently))
17. Father: COME SAREBBE A DI'?
how would (it) be to say?
((to Gabriele)) **WHAT DO YOU MEAN?**
((he moves his hand in a questioning gesture))

(7.5) ((Gabriele looks at the father while weeping his mouth with a napkin, then lower his eyes and starts passing the towel on his knees to eliminate bread crumbs; at this point the father addresses prolonged glances to the mother and Silverio))
18. Father: → °e mo che ic rispondo°
°and now what to him I answer°
((he turns his head toward Silverio, softening his voice))
°what shall I tell him now?° ((laughs))

((Gabriele still looks down stroking his legs with the napkin;
Silverio addresses a glance to the mother and laughs))

(2.0)

19. Father: senti un pò. chi te l'ha su- chi te l'ha suggerito?
listen a bit. who to you has su- who to you it has suggested?
listen now. who was the one who told you this?

(1.0)

20. Gabriele: [nessuno.
[*nobody*
[*((The father takes the knife from Gabriele's hand))*

Gabriele's turn (line 13) shows that he was following and understanding the preceding talk. He is able to occupy a locus of participation that was minimally provided to him by the father's glance. His turn displays a marked affective load directed against his father and, less directly, his brother. In a loud tone accompanied by the percussion of the knife on the table he threatens to quit soccer before even starting in case he is given the undesired garment. What comes next proves that this is not a conventional family joke, in that the members start inquiring about the origin of Gabriele's soccer preference. The reaction of the father presents two points which are relevant to our discussion: one is marking the non-seriousness of the turn addressed to the young child, and the other is the opening of a backstage interaction with the elder one. The father, the mother and Silverio treat Gabriele's turn as a *boutade*, by pausing, then laughing and looking at each other. After a remarkably long interval the father speaks to him, producing a little "performance" of dismay and disbelief (line 17). The correspondent facial expression is overplayed, both in intensity and length, and the voice raises considerably. Then he lowers his voice to a whisper and does "backstage" with his elder son (line 19). While this change in footing occurs, Gabriele retreats from interaction and is busy cleaning his legs of bread crumbs with a towel.

Here then, a "representation" character is lent again to the exchange with the young child, even before a backstage move is accomplished, through intonational and expressive devices. Then, the father addresses his elder son a turn focused on what to say next to Gabriele, who has betrayed the family loyalty for the team but has also shown a clear alternative preference which cannot be disregarded. This turn is of the backstage kind in that it treats the main interaction as problematic, and treats the present speaker's contributions to it as not spontaneous but produced strategically behind the curtains. Linguistically, the turn is similar to that in excerpt 1, pronominalized and focused on a problem of saying:

(from excerpt 1)

4. Mother: già glie-l' ho [detto=
already to her that I have [told=
I already [asked her=

(from excerpt 2b)

18. Father: °e mo che ie rispondo°?
 °and now what to him I answer him°
 °what shall I tell him now?°

temporal term + object of saying + pronoun-reference to child + verb of saying

An alternative *equipe* is also created, in which another participant is asked for advice. The elder brother, who has been given this role, takes up the teasing aspect of Father's backstage turn and laughs. As in excerpt 1, the child topicalized in the backstage retreats from the interaction and gets involved in a physical activity in which s/he averts her/his eyes as well. The father then does a "resumption" of the interaction with Gabriele: namely, he restarts it in a marked way (Jefferson, 1972) with a "listen now" (line 19), and inquires into the origin of the child's new team preference. The "representation" character of the former, problematic sequence is thus increased by a suspicion of the child as an actor and not an author of the incriminated statement, just repeating someone else's suggestion. The Italian verb "suggerire" is indeed the same one which is used in theater for whispering words to the actors on stage⁸.

The consequence of splitting an interaction into a front- and a backstage are manifold. The most general one is that all the conversational moves taking place in the frontstage are made, prospectively or retrospectively, less serious and reliable. The result can be delegitimation, as in excerpt 1, or a comical effect, as in the latter. The diverse effects might derive from the fact that in the first instance it was a different speaker who cast a representational light on the others' exchange, whereas here we have the same speaker acting in both scenes. The comical effect arises from a mechanization of the action of the speakers, one of the basic devices of being comic for Bergson (1900).

But why do parents exhibit to the child pieces of talk that could, in principle, threaten the assumption of trust - the basic tenet of social interaction? (Garfinkel, 1963). We will argue that children of around four years of age are seen as problematic interactants, given the unpredictability of their commitment to the prosecution of the interaction and their disregard for the more elementary forms of conversational tact. Interacting with a four-year-old, particularly in the presence of others, is potentially threatening for one's face, since the child can withhold responses, act rudely or refuse to comply with requests and directives.

Former researchers have shown that children of this age are in fact more likely to produce dispreferred responses (Pomerantz, 1984; Sacks 1987) than preferred ones, and to deliver them in a dispreferred manner as well, omitting mitigation and even aggravating disagreements and refusals with emphasis, and repetition. (Pirchio & Pontecorvo, 1997). As shown in excerpt 1, children sometimes decide not to reply at all. Moreover, children show less deference than adults to conversational bounds, both of topic and genre, displaying an inclination for speech

play, sudden changes of footing, bursts into make believe play, sing song chants, and the like. All these actions require management by older participants, be it explicit reproach, disentanglement from interaction or compliance with the changed frame of discourse (Fasulo & Antonelli, 1996).

What we have discussed in the previous sections are possible ways of protecting one's face from the child's uncertain behavior. The status of children as interactants is diminished by the practice of backstage talk and the corresponding stage-like features of the talk addressed to them. Their conversational partners are defining their own involvement as fictional, "as if," while being allowed to a "truer" self by the backstage, "serious" interaction. The children in our observations do not seem to have such a resource available⁹, so their identity is locally defined, in the sequences described, as exhausted by the role they are assigned in the interaction. Very often this role has a comic nature, and the children's actions are constructed by the surrounding conversation as odd, clumsy or having unpredictable motivations. A corollary hypothesis is that, if subtracting seriousness from adults' moves toward the child protects their own face (in the sense that they can cope with any interactive failure with the child pretending it is a joke), subtracting responsibility and full awareness from the child protects the face of the family as a whole, since the child does not appear to be a fully entitled member (an example relevant to this aspect is discussed in the next paragraph). Moreover, children themselves, by reentering the interaction, can adjust their participant role according to the one the family has cast on them and accomplish, as we will see, the task of repairing the family's face.

On the other hand, children who listen to backstage talk concerning themselves are exposed to a discursive genre that, as we have argued above, is a fundamental resource for the interpretation of social life, and they are also trained to distinguish voices and audience lamination. The socialization is likely to be more effective when the child her/himself is the protagonist of the backstage talk, since the talk could be too complicated to grasp if, as it usually happens, it concerned people external to the family or the social facts that are often matter of gossip. Finally, children may find being the object of common interest and amusement but also of serious debate to be rewarding.

3. CHILDREN AS COMIC ACTORS

In this section we explore one of the dimensions of previous discussion, namely the usefulness of the "stagification" of the children's action space. There is not backstage talk involved here, but there is a verbal activity with the child as a third person protagonist which is directed to give the child's action the status of a comic representation.

In the following excerpt, the child does not reply with talk to any of the member's turns, but non-verbally acts coherently with the ongoing family dis-

course about him. Leonardo, the young child, has shown disrespect for table manners. The inconvenience of his behavior is remarked on but not seriously reproached, and the spirited reaction of the whole family works in the sense of encouraging the child to make a parody of his own behavior, enacting the role of the uncultivated kid in an exaggerated manner. Again, we are reminded of the family control mode performed by family members in Samoa, when, through the activity Ochs (1988) has called *shaming*, a behavior is stigmatized as shameful but the individual child is not the object of serious punishment. Interestingly, Samoan shaming involves loud, choral comments about the child using the grammatical third person while physically stroking the child's cheeks during the shaming sound. In this way, the child's shameful conduct is publicly disregarded, while the social affect is transferred to her/him, *performed* literally on her/him as the transitory character of a social scene.

Similarly, in the following excerpt we see a choral reaction to a child's reproachful act involving loud comments, abundant laughter, and an explication of the face problem (by the father).

Excerpt 3. Tanucci Family, dinner 4

Participants. Mother, Father, Marco (10 years), Leonardo (Leo) (3 years)

(The mother is talking to Marco about the planning of a party, on one side of the table.)

Leonardo stands up on his seat, opposite, half out of the camera field))

1. Mother: tu hai invitato qualche [compagno tuo=
you have invited some [mate (of) yours?
did you invite any of /your friends?

2. Leonardo: [((burps))]

3. Mother: =al-la faccia Leo. [eh!
 at the face Leo. [uh!
 look at you Leo. /uh!

[((Leonardo laughs loudly with hiccups))

((the mother, the father and elder brother laugh))

4. Mother: buona salute Mammì eh?
good health to your Mum eh?
you're a healthy boy uh? ((with accentuated nods))

5. Father: meglio che staccamo eh?
better that (we) turn off uh?
((to mum)) *we'd better turn it off ((the videorecorder))* uh?

6. Mother: [hahahahahahahahahahaha]

7. Father: comincia a essere [pericolosa (.) la serata. haha
(it) starts to be [dangerous (.) the evening haha
the evening is getting [dangerous ((laughing)) haha
8. Mother: [hahahahahahahahahahahahaha
9. Mother: Leo <la mano davanti> per piacere eh? (.) ogni tanto
Leo <the hand in front> please uh? (.) once in a while
Leo <hand on the mouth> please uh? (.) once in a while
((smiling, covering her mouth with her hand))
10. così (.) eh!
so (.) eh
this way (.) uh!
11. Leonardo: uh (.) uh uh ((laughing))

Firstly the mother scolds the child act, her voice displaying both surprise and amusement. By the use of her own appellative (line 4) at the end of the sentence she involves her “mothering self” in the child’s behavior, thus partially sharing responsibility for it. Her next move after the father’s suggestion of switching off the recorder consists of reminding and modeling for the child the proper way of coping with socially undesirable bodily events (line 5). Both parents’ acts reveal Leonardo’s behavior to be a face threat (see the choice of the word “*dangerous*” in line 7), not to either personally, but to the collective face of the family, in front of the camera but not necessarily so.

While the mother’s facework is addressed to the child in an explicit socialization episode, the father’s talk is keyed as an adult joke, or better two jokes, the first hinting at the recorder and the second stressing the uncivilized nature of child behavior. The use of the first person pronoun by the father’s first turn (line 5) may index two different subsets of participants: “we” that comprises himself and the mother, an ensemble preoccupied with family face and monitoring the events to preserve it (Goffman, 1967, p.12) and another set including Leonardo, whose face is at risk.

Excerpt 3b.

12. Father: perchè noi siamo quasi al tempo dei romani
because we are nearly at the time of the Romans
‘cause we are close to the age of the Romans
13. Mother: ((laughs openly))
14. Father: quando i rotti era segno di aver apprezzato la cena
when the burps (it) was sign of having appreciated the dinner

when burps were signs one had enjoyed his dinner

15. Mother: e lui ha apprezzato tantissimo!
and he has appreciated very much!
and he (Leonardo) really enjoyed it! ((High pitch, laughing))

((out of the camera view, Leonardo can be heard to pretend
a burp and then laugh with the other members))
16. Leonardo ho::! ((pretends a burp))
17. Father: (per lui) era molto buona
(for him) it was very good
he really thought it was good
18. Leonardo: pfvv ((laughing))
19. Marco: se vede che lui è un residuo degli [antichi Romani
it is seen that he is a residual of the [ancient Romani
((turning to the mother)) **you can see he**
((he hints at Leonardo)) **is a residual of the [ancient Romans**
20. Leonardo: [IUH:::
((leaning onwards on the chair he is standing on,
grabbing a piece of banana))
21. Mother: (giusto) questa m'è piaciuta. da oggi in po- (1.0)
(exact) this I liked. from today to af-(ter) (1.0)
(right) ((to Marco)) **I liked this one.** ((smiling voice))
from now on- (1.0)

((Leonardo brings the banana to the mouth but it drops on the floor))
22. Mother: basta: ~~b~~asta:: ((to Leonardo))
enough: ↓enough::
sto:p ↓sto:p ((smile fading in her voice))
23. Mother: da oggi in poi ti chiamiamo residuo degli a- degli antichi=
from today to after we call you residual of the a- of the ancient
from now on we call you residuals of the a- of the ancient
24. =romani!
Romans!
Romans
25. ((both children laugh))

While the father keeps the mother as his primary recipient in the sequence,

she acts as his audience (contingently laughing at his remarks) and elaborates on his joke about the Romans, but the distribution of her participation is still more complex. She is selected by her older son for further elaboration on the joke (line 43), with a formulation which she appreciates (line 47) and even proposes to adopt for the Leonardo as a nickname (temporary application of derogatory nicknames is described by Ochs, 1988, as also part of the shaming technique). Here the mother is *trait-d'union* among the two generations, addressee of both in the fabrication of the joke. She is also talking to the young child, first with the comment and the correction, then, later on, again giving a halt to his escalation of "savagery" (*stop, stop*). Thus, while all the other members are sharing the same discourse and thus acting as a group, the mother selects her tutorial role when speaking with the child, thus partitioning the floor into two separate interactions (Fatigante, 1998). This is evident in that she inserts her warnings to Leonardo (line 22) in the middle of the sentence addressed to her elder son, which is still part of the teasing.

We argue that the child is taking an active part in the scene, exploiting the chance offered to him by this third person description. He does not participate in the comments *on* his behavior but persists *in* the behavior, transforming it into a performance. He feeds the common interaction with an online staging of the behavior that the others are talking about.

His active participation is detectable also through the organization of laughter. In the sequence there is a balancing of two types of laughing, what Glenn (1995) calls an affiliative laugh, that is, *laughing with*, and a disaffiliative one, that is, *laughing at*. Correspondingly, with these different ways of laughing a different alignment of each member toward the other is shaped and negotiated. In the flow of laughter practically accompanying the whole sequence, the line of division among subsets gets subtler and almost disappears, since the child laughs at the other's remarks and at his own performance. His participation is possible since he disaffiliates from his own behavior, becoming an audience to himself, thereby showing himself to be aware of the socially negative aspects of his act, here the burping.

The child turns out to be both the offender and the savior of the family face. While the three older members of the family are doing face work by treating the offensive act as something to laugh at, the child is able to save both the family and his own face, by a separation between two "roles of the self" (Goffman, 1981, p. 36) and by "stating that the self which seemed to be behind the act was projected as a joke too" (*ibid*, p. 24). Childish and clownish (even uncontrolled) as it may appear, the behavior enacted is actually sensitive to the family's embarrassment and reparative of the child's own embarrassment too, which may be there from the very beginning or passed to the child through the shaming activity.

4. PERFORMING WITH THE CHILD

Up to now, we have been describing two partially overlapping practices to be found in the interaction with young children, both involving reference to them in the third person in their presence. The one we have called backstage side-interaction can have just the functional aim of managing parental care (as in excerpt 1) or can be directed to affect the status of the children's verbal moves (as in excerpt 2). In both cases, there are backward effects of backstage interactions changing the status of the preceding talk. The second practice we have described, which we can tentatively call "comic casting," consists of descriptions of the children's behavior or reactions to it as if it was a performance and not to be taken as fully intentional and/or serious. Comic casting is potentially afforded by backstage talk, in that the object of backstage talk is precisely the representational character of frontstage interactions, the "as if" quality of the exchanges therein.

The co-presence of backstage and frontstage determines interesting adjustments of the participation framework: children show themselves to be responsive to selected indexes of participation, their attention to the talk is paradoxically revealed by a display of non-attentiveness during backstage talk performed by other members. During comic casting, the children equally maintain themselves outside the speech arena, but can display participation through the repeated enactment of the behavior that the other members are making fun of. The degree to which these two practices have the young child as an ultimate target is ambiguous, and probably variable through diverse occasions. It could be argued that these practices are precisely means to resolve the uncertainty about the capacity of the young child as recipient by dropping comments and indications of which the child is not the primary and accountable addressee, but that can nonetheless offer the child cues concerning the adults' view of her/his action.

The last example is presented in support of our claims regarding a family view of the child as an unpredictable member and unreliable interactant, and of the backstage and comic casting practices triggered by such a view. At the beginning of the excerpt, the child is recruited in the discourse before comments and reports on him are directed to another member of the family.

Excerpt 4a. Gennari family,

Participants. Mother, Father, Silverio (8 years), Gabriele (Lele) (3 years).

((The father and the elder brother have been talking with Gabriele about his day at school; they have just asked him about his teachers and the subjects he has studied. Now the topic turns to the cook of his school))

1. Father: come se chiama a cuoca?
 how is (it) called the cook?
 ((leaning toward Gabriele)) what's the name of the cook?

2. Gabriele: DElia !
DElia ((firmly))!
 (1.0)
3. Father: quanto je piace que'a cuoca
 how much to him likes that cook
 ((to the mother)) *he really likes that cook a lot*
 ((shaking hands emphatically))
 (1.0) ((the father looks at Gabriele sweetly, Silverio laughs))
4. Father: <dice che prende> e se ne va in cucina da lei.
 (one) <says he sets> off and goes in the kitchen to her
 ((to the mother)) <they say *he (Gabriele) just takes off>*
and go to her in the kitchen
 ((he moves his hand to fancy Gabriele going to the cook))
5. Father è vero che vai sempre c'a o:- co' lei?
 is it true you go always wi' th') wi(th) her?
 ((to Gabriele)) isn't it true that you always go to her
6. Gabriele: ((nods))
 (5.0)
7. Father: [Lele? ((family nickname for Gabriele))
8. Silverio: [oggi] je chiedemo (.) a Akela
 [today] to her (we) ask (.) to Akela
 [today] *we ask (.) ((gulps)) Akela*
 ((it's the nickname of the researcher, a friend of the children,
 who has brought the videocamera to the family))
9. Silverio: se c' ha 'na mini telccamera così 'a fissamo=
 whether there (she) has a mini videocamera so we it stick
whether she has a mini videocamera so we stick it
10. =a Leletto
 at Lele+dim.
to Leletto
 ((he rapidly points Gabriele with his finger))
11. Silverio: eh ch c: vedemo che fa
 eh eh and we see what he does
eh eh ((laughs)) a:nd we see what he does ((to the father))
 ((4.0))

The child is addressed by the father with a simple question about the name of the school cook he seems to be friends with. After the name is uttered the father turns to the mother commenting on the peculiarity of the child's behavior. First he provides an assessment (line 3); then he recalls someone else's report about the child going to visit the cook (line 4). The story item is then offered to the child for confirmation in a way that, while assuming the child was listening, nonetheless reproduces the elements of the question (line 5) as in doubt that the child was attending to the prior talk.

Gabriele nods, and here the elder brother fancies to ask the researcher for another videorecorder (line 9), a small one to be fixed onto his brother to inspect what he is doing at school, for the family entertainment. This idea well expresses the "child as funny character" role they are building around the youngest member of the family, begun in this sequence by the father, with the story-telling. In this way he has cast Gabriele as the protagonist of an amusing episode.

In the next segment Silverio asks Gabriele further details on the cook story, but a backstage side-interaction accompanies their exchange, between the elder brother and the father, focused on the question's linguistic formulation and its comprehensibility by the child.

Excerpt 4b.

12. Silverio: ma che è di colore=Lele? (.)
but what is (unspecified subject) of colour Lele? ((= "black")) (.)
is she coloured=Lele? (.)
13. Gabriele: mh? ((looking at Silverio))
14. Silverio: che è di colore?
Is (unspecified subject) of colour?
Is she coloured?
15. Gabriele: che?
what?
16. Silverio: Delia.
17. Father: → se je dici di colore che ne sa lui?
 → if to him you say coloured what does (he) know he?
 → ((to Silverio)) *if you tell him coloured he won't understand*
 ((with a hand-gesture for 'disbelief' which ends in pointing
 to Gabriele))
18. Silverio: ah↓
 ah↓ ((acknowledging the father's suggestion))

(2.0)

19. Gabriele: che di colo:re:?
what of co:lour?
what of co:lour? ((to Silverio))

20. Father: → 'o vedi?
 → that (you) see?
 → ((turning to Silverio)) y'see?

21. Silverio: → ((laughs))

(1.0)

22. Father: di che colore è Delia?
 what colour is Delia?
 ((to Gabriele)) *what's Delia's colour?*
 ((Gabriele is eating, looking blank toward the the father))

23. Silverio: ((to Gabriele)) Delia.
 ((Gabriele looks blankly again))

24. Father: la pe:lle (.) di che colore ce l' ha?
 the skin (.) of what colour there it (she) has?
the skin (.)((passing his hand on his cheek)) what's its colour?

25. Gabriele: non ho capito
 (I) not have understood
I don't understand
 ((the father looks at the eldest son saying something inaudible))

26. Silverio: >D:ELIA< no::?(.) noi ce l'abbiamo bianca
 >D:ELIA< no::?(.) we there it have white
 >D:ELIA< y'kno::w?(.) *ours is white.* ((touching his own face))

27. Silverio lei come ce l'ha? <bianca o marrone>?
 she how there it has? <white or brown>?
 ((leaning toward Gabriele, raising his voice and
 lengthening the spelling)) *how's hers? <white or brown>?*

(1.0) ((the father and Silverio look attentively at Gabriele
 as to wait for the answer))

28. Gabriele: hm. eh:: (2.0) bianca
 hm. eh:: (2.0) *white*

29. Father: → ((*nods*))
30. Silverio: → bianca?
((*turns to Dad*)) white?
31. Father: → ((*nods*))
32. Silverio: ((*nods to confirm*))

Here it is the elder brother who has a troubled interaction with the young child of the family. Silverio asks the same question in four different versions, obtaining four different requests for clarification (lines 12, 14, 26, 27). The father acts as a sort of supervisor of Silverio, assessing the likelihood for Gabriele to understand his brother's wording and treating the young child's responses as evidence for his lack of understanding. Silverio attends the father's talk and laughs at Gabriele's perfectly timed initiation of repair (19)¹⁰. The more we go into this extended repair sequence, the more we see it becoming less "natural," complicated by a backstage counselor, and by vocal effects like high volume, elongation of words and intraturn pausing, and mimicry. The lack of genuineness and seriousness in the interaction between Silverio and his brother is reinforced by the Silverio's closure (line 29), in which he seems to have been aware all along that his father knew the answer, but that he was interested in having it from Gabriele – engaging him in conversation.

Looking at what the child does, again we see that here Gabriele is not giving direct signs of attending to the backstage talk. He does not either disturb the other's speech or talk through it as would be the case if he really ignored it. Instead, as in the other examples, we see that his contributions nicely fit with the content of the backstage interaction. He has been all along the focal *object* and, at the same time, the *audience* of what is happening between the other participants. Thus, though he cannot understand *what* they say – the lexical item they use – he still understand *how* they say, that is, *how* they try to reformulate their wording *for his* (the child's) *own sake*.

DISCUSSION AND FINAL REMARKS

We have examined the distribution of participation during talk in family interactions involving young children. Our analysis has focused on those exchanges in which children appeared banned from participation, both linguistically and pragmatically, while they are the topic of the ongoing talk. We have called "backstage interaction" those side sequences opened by family members into an exchange with the child with the explicit aim of commenting it or designing its further steps, with a correspondent switch between second and third grammatical person. The socialization import of such a discourse activity is, at least, twofold: the elder

siblings which participate in it get part of the tutorial *equipe* and are informed about the socially adequate ways to interact with her/him; the young child has the chance to listen to the adults' interpretation of his behaviors, motives and traits. The last point would imply at least a partial comprehension on behalf of the young child: what is then the status of her/his participation when similar sequences occur? Does the child actually stand out of the floor as an overhearer or as a non-person?

We have tried to show that young children collaborate with the definition of the participation structure: when they are talked about, they can enact the behavior which is commented upon by the others, providing confirmation and new material to their talk, and even acting as an audience of their own performance. When the child is the object of serious discussion, s/he produces signs of a total absence of attention, looking into the middle distance or undertaking a course of action which diverts his body and eyes from the ongoing exchange among parents and/or older siblings. These cases of participation show that children are actively engaged in monitoring the talk of others, the contingency of their acts of disengagement being too well timed and functional to be ought to mere chance. Thus, they are exposed to precious opportunities for being socialized with backstage talk – a basic resource of human communities to display levels of intimacy and social competence. Peculiarly enough, they are offered the chance to hear how the others talk about themselves *when they are not present*: a chance almost never available to grownups outside psychiatric institutions and similar depersonalizing settings.

Observing how the changes of footing also implied a change in the keying of the talk, passing from the seriousness of the backstage talk to the "performance" style of the interaction with the child, we have argued that the person involved is interested in layering the self s/he exposes, offering the child a "fictional self" to interact with, thus preserving her/his face from the incumbent threat of the child's unpoliteness or embarrassing "spontaneity." The child is, in this way, temporarily kept aside from the conversation, just for the time it takes the adult members to *repair*. In this particular kind of discursive practice the child is left the opportunity to reenter the conversation: a key-point of our discussion, in fact, is that backstage talk *is not* incomprehensible to children, but rather it is probably in part performed for their benefit.

NOTES

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Correspondence can be sent to: Alessandra Fasulo, Dipartimento di Psicologia dei processi di sviluppo e socializzazione, Via dei Marsi 78, 00185, Rome, Italy. Email: afasulo@dip38.psi.uniroma1.it

¹ Observation of Sapir, recalled in Levinson, 1988, p. 177, who took it from Hymes 1974.

² Participation framework is used by Goffman (1981) particularly for the reciprocity role; Levinson

(1988) extended it to the whole production-recipient situation.

³ Referees of the paper have suggested to use the notion of side-sequence as described by Jefferson (1972) to account for the occurrences we present; the instances she uses to illustrate the notion, on the other hand, do not mirror ours in terms of participation framework, in that they are always performed by the same participants of the main sequence, whereas ours involve a change in participation, with one speaker participating in two different streams of discourse. The sequences of interest will be referred to as *side interactions* not to change Jefferson's construct, but just to avoid misuse of it.

⁴ Typical instances are waiters and waitresses in the kitchen of a restaurant in the backroom of a shop and the like.

⁵ The corpus of data from which the sample has been taken is composed of a total of 54 family dinner videorecordings collected from 16 middle-class families, 14 living in Rome and 2 living in Naples, selected according to the following criteria: presence of both parents, presence of a child aged between 3 and 5 years old and of at least an elder brother or sister. For the present article, we have selected excerpts from the transcriptions of 3 families, all composed by four members, the parents and the two children, two boys in the Gennari and Tanucci families, and a boy and a girl in the Quinto family.

⁶ Evidence is too scarce to pursue this issue further, but note that, should this be correct, a different couple would be created, composed by mother and child, the nurturer-nurtured dyad *par excellence*.

⁷ Shoes + diminutive (scarpini) with a masculine desinence does not belittle the shoes but is the proper name for soccer shoes.

⁸ This is not just speculation: in the remainder the family investigates the child's visit to a neighbour, a known fan of the Lazio team.

⁹ A technique children might use to satisfy a similar need could be the often noted, though not analyzed, occasions when s/he says to a family member "I have to tell you something" and then whispers in the ear of the targeted addressee.

¹⁰ For different initiations of repair see Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977.

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Marilena Fatigante has graduated in Psychology on February 1998. She has been working at the research project coordinated by Clotilde Pontecorvo on family interaction, and she

has done a thesis on "Strategies of alliance and coalition within family members during dinnertime conversations."

Alessandra Fasulo is post-doctoral researcher in Psychology of Development and Socialization. She has been working on family interactions and she has especially dealt with the development of autobiographical narrations in young children.

Clotilde Pontecorvo is chair professor of Psychopedagogy of Language and Communication. She wrote, among many others, the following books: *Psicologia dell'Educazione. Conoscere a scuola* (Ed.); *Il Mulino*, Bologna, 1986; *La condivisione della conoscenza* (Ed.) La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1986.

Participation Structure as Cultural Schema: Examples From a Navajo Preschool

Margaret Field

University of California, Santa Barbara

Linguistics Department

This paper examines the relationship between micro and macro perspectives on the organization of participation structure, and considers how both perspectives can be useful to the ethnographer of interaction. It suggests that understandings of the organization of participation may be considered forms of tacit knowledge, or cultural schemas, which may differ cross-culturally. Examples are drawn from a study of Navajo preschool, and supported by a substantial body of classroom ethnography in other Native American communities. I argue that participation structure at the macro level of speech event is largely negotiated through and dependent upon cultural schemas for participation structure at the micro level of interaction.

The organization of participation in interaction has been described by ethnographers as existing at various levels of analysis, including the more *global, macro* level of the speech situation or event, such as a lecture, conversation, political meeting, etc. (Philips, 1972; Goffman, 1981) as well as at the *micro, interactional* level of speech act, or interpersonal interaction¹ (Goodwin, 1990; Hanks, 1996). The latter work has emphasized the emergent nature of the organization of participation as an aspect of the context of speaking which is co-constructed by its participants. In this paper, I would like to examine the relationship between these two perspectives on the organization of participation, and consider how they may both be useful to the ethnographer of interaction. In particular, I wish to focus on how an understanding of the organization of participation at these two levels of interaction may be considered a form of *knowledge* which is available to participants, which may differ cross-culturally. Examples are drawn from a study of silence as a response to questions in one Navajo preschool, and supported by a substantial body of classroom ethnography in other Native American communities. I argue that participation structure at the macro level of speech event, even though cultural schema(s) may exist for it, is still largely negotiated through and dependent upon cultural schemas for participation structure at the micro level of interaction.

To begin with, I need to explain what I mean by knowledge which differs cross-culturally. I have in mind what has been described by researchers of interaction in various disciplines as *tacit* knowledge, or knowledge which is generally not discursively available to speakers (Giddens, 1979) yet which they have nonetheless. Linguistic anthropologists have described this kind of knowledge in terms of "cultural models"² or "schemas" for interaction (Keesing, 1987; D'Andrade &

Strauss, 1992; Shore, 1996). For example, as Keesing points out, such an "ideational" view of culture differs from earlier anthropological perspectives in that rather than positing the primacy of either social interaction or cultural knowledge (so that one must be derived from the other), it simultaneously locates culture in both public, shared "pools of common-sense knowledge" as well as in people's heads in the form of various versions of public, shared knowledge:

An ideational theory of culture can look at cultural knowledge as distributed within a social system, can take into account the variation between individuals' knowledge of and vantage points on the cultural heritage of their people. It can also view cultural knowledge as shaping and constraining, but not directly generating, social behavior. (1987, p. 372)

Palmer (1996) has suggested that *speech act scenarios* are one type of cultural schema shared by members of a speech community which may be further broken down into componential subschemas, including schemas for participation structure and sequencing. I find this model for understanding the nature of participation in interaction a very useful one. Thus, speakers may have tacit knowledge in the form of cultural schemas, for the organization of participation in interaction at both the global level of the speech event as well as more micro levels of interaction. Levinson (1979) has made a similar point in observing that speakers have *inferential schemata* which are tied to the structural properties of different activities. For example, members of a speech community have knowledge about how participation is organized at the level of speech event or situation, from more clearly defined (or ritualized) contexts such as the classroom (Mehan, 1982; Philips, 1983) or Samoan *fono* (Duranti, 1981) to more spontaneous yet nonetheless clearly identifiable speech events such as the labeling routines which white middle class mothers practice with their children (Heath, 1983). At the same time, members of a speech community also share knowledge of norms for participation at the level of speech act or utterance (such as conversation analysis is typically concerned with), including knowledge of *adjacency pairs* (question-answer, greeting-greeting, etc.) and other more extended pragmatic units (narratives, lists, etc.). These types of tacit knowledge make up an important part of speakers' interactional repertoires, which they may call upon (consciously or unconsciously) in displaying or enacting their social identity(s) (Ochs, 1993).

In addition, knowledge of norms for participation may be tied to social role(s), as when teachers enact their role through asking pupils "pseudo-questions," or questions to which they obviously already know the response. People in the medical profession enact their roles through asking patients questions of an extremely personal nature, and caregivers in many societies enact theirs through the giving of unmitigated imperatives to children. Through enacting such speech acts, speakers not only index a particular role with a specific relationship vis-a-vis their addressee(s), but also simultaneously create a specific role for the addressee, altogether constituting what is often a culturally salient and recognizable participation

structure.

Importantly, cultural schemas for how participation is to be instantiated in interaction may differ across speech communities. Indeed, knowledge of such norms for participation (among other things) is a large part of what defines one as a member of a particular speech community (Hymes, 1966, 1972). For this reason, members of differing speech communities may notice that norms for participation differ in other communities, often associating these other norms with specific roles or contexts from those other communities. For example, as several ethnographers of Native American interaction have pointed out, the performance of particular *speech acts*, such as the asking of questions (especially those of a personal nature) is, for many Native Americans, something which non-Native Americans do (Black, 1973; Darnell, 1979; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Liebe-Harkort, 1983; Leap, 1993). Thus, as Darnell explains, for many Cree people:

The terms *moniyaw* (white man) and *nehiyaw* (Indian person) are frequently used as labels of behavior rather than as ethnic identification. To label an Indian person as *moniyaw* means that s/he is behaving like a white man, this being negatively valued. The term *moniyaw* is most often glossed as "loud-mouthed." ... A native student of our acquaintance was proud of her B.A. from the University of Alberta until her family referred to her as a "fake white woman." ... It is very hard for a school teacher not to behave like a moniyaw. The role itself demands a control of others' behavior which is not consistent with the native etiquette. (1979, p.2)

In many Native American communities, speech acts such as the asking of direct questions and giving of directives (Basso, 1979; Field, 1998) are handled with a good deal of circumspection. They are not normally used in conversation (especially between strangers) in the same way as they are by many non-Native Americans, in what Tannen (1993) calls an "involvement strategy" for indexing intimacy and rapport. This is not to say that questions are not used at all or that directives are never given, but simply that these speech acts are used in a different way, and index different social roles. For example, in some Native American communities, the asking of questions is tied to the role of *student*, rather than teacher (Black, 1973), and individual performance or "being in the spotlight" is associated with the *teacher's* role, rather than the student's (Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982).

One important difference between the norms for the asking of questions in many Native American speech communities and mainstream American culture is that *responses* to questions need not be immediate (Philips, 1983; Field, 1998). As Philips (1976) found in her study of interaction on the Warm Springs Indian reservation: "answers to questions are not immediately obligatory," as the Indian system "maximizes the control a speaker has over his own turn and minimizes the control he has over others" (93). In my own ethnographic study of language socialization in a Navajo community, I also found this to be true. This interactional

norm contrasts with that of the dominant, Non-Native American speech community, in which immediate (verbal) replies to questions are expected, as the following authors have noted:

In a normal conversation, the participants will make the following assumptions, among others, about the discourse: ...Rule IV: With questions, the speaker assumes that he will get a reply. (R. Lakoff, 1972, p.916)

A basic rule of adjacency pair operation [of which "question-answer" is one subtype] is: given the recognizable production of a first pair part, on its first possible completion its speaker should stop and a next speaker should start and produce a second pair part from the pair type of which the first is recognizable a member. (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p.296)

These are the norms, or schemas, which many mainstream Non-Native Americans share for the asking and answering of questions. In addition, they are also a significant part of the speech situation or interactional context of "school," in which teachers typically ask the questions and students are expected to answer them; this ritualized type of interaction often constitutes the speech event of "lesson," even when more prolonged discussion by the children is the goal. Learning to respond to questions both verbally and immediately is thus a task which many Native American children are faced with when they enter school, constituting a socialization process which may be more or less distressful depending on how it is negotiated by both teacher(s) and student(s).

In the following discussion, I will examine some examples illustrating 1) the existence of different norms for the sequential organization of questions and responses on the part of Navajo children and their teachers and 2) how the negotiation of interaction at the level of the speech act (i.e., question-asking) affects the overall participation structure of classroom interaction or the speech event "lesson."

DATA

All of the data presented here are drawn from a corpus of 30 hours of transcribed videotape of naturally-occurring interaction from a preschool classroom on the Canoncito Navajo reservation in New Mexico. The data were collected over the 1996-7 school year¹.

NEGOTIATED PARTICIPATION STRUCTURE AT THE INTERACTIONAL LEVEL

In this section, I offer an example illustrating how conflicting expectations for participation structure at the level of interpersonal interaction may lead to a breakdown at the level of speech event, as Navajo children respond to a teacher's

questions with silence.

In this example, several mothers are present with their children in the pre-school classroom, along with two teachers and myself (serving as an aide). One of the teachers, "C," who is also the director of the program, is not Navajo herself, but has been working in the community for close to ten years. The other teacher "E," is from the local community. "C" has called everybody to sit down with her so that she can present a short lesson on Navajo kinship terms, and have all the children present (M and G are children) practice calling their mothers (or aunts) by the appropriate Navajo term (*shimá* "my mother," or *shimá yázhí* "my aunt"). When she gets to this part of the lesson, her instructions to the children take the form of a question to which everyone in the room knows the answer (i.e. "who's that person?" pointing to the child's mother) which she expects the children to answer in front of the group. Thus, this projected lesson, along with its attendant speech act(s) of asking questions aimed solely to elicit a performance, which are addressed to particular individuals, involves a participation structure which has (for many Native Americans) been noted to conflict with the norms for participation in other contexts (Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Philips 1983). As the transcript illustrates, her lesson breaks down when two children refuse to cooperate (beginning line 13):

- 1) 1 C: ok,
 2 who's that woman over there,
 3 ((points to M's mother))
 4 um, Mara?
 5 M: uh::,
 6 C: what's her name?
 7 M: (5.0) *shimá*.
 8 *my mother*
 9 C: *ḡoo'*.
 10 *yes*
 11 *shimá*.
 12 Gwen, who's that?
 13 G: ((looks down; no response))
 14 ask her in Navajo, E?
 15 E: (3.0) Gwen,
 16 C: Gwen! <LO ask her in Navajo LO>.
 17 E: <X *háidishá éí áú'é* X>?
 18 *who is it, that person?*
 19 *éí "shimá"?*
 20 *it's "my mom"?*
 21 G: ((looks down, then away, no response))
 22 E: (1.0) Ronald?
 23 *háidisha?*
 24 *who is that?*

- 25 shoo, "shimá,"
 26 say, "my mom,"
 27 R: ((looks at E steadily, no response))
 28 E: so, that's the first step.
 29 C: hah hah hah.
 30 so, anyway, uh,
 31 we're having one of the grandmas come in,
 32 for small group,
 33 and she's gonna do::
 34 E: she's gonna do,
 35 the blue corn meal?

In line 12, when the teacher "C" asks Gwen (4 years) to name her mother, Gwen averts her gaze from C, and does not respond at all. Gwen's mother, who is sitting right behind her, does not interfere. Teacher "C" then turns to her co-teacher "E," who speaks Navajo, and asks her to ask Gwen the question again, in Navajo, *inferring*, based on her own cultural schema for the organization of questions and answers, that perhaps the reason for Gwen's lack of response was that she had not understood the question⁴. Thus, the "rules" for answering questions, as outlined above by Lakoff (1972) and Schegloff & Sacks (1973), function much like Grice's maxims (1975) in that interactants draw inferences based on their *violations* (as "C" does in this case).

The teacher from the community, "E," asks Gwen the same question in Navajo (in line 17), even supplying her with the correct answer in the form of a confirmation request, so that all Gwen would have to do to reply "correctly" is nod her head affirmatively, yet Gwen still averts her gaze and does not respond verbally. In effect, as argued in more depth below, Gwen indexes nonorientation to the speaker, and, I argue, her own nonavailability as an addressee. At this point, "E" turns to Gwen's brother, Ronald (age 2 and 1/2), and asks him the same question (line 24), also supplying him with the answer, but to no avail. Ronald, who is sitting in his mother's lap, looks "E" full in the face, yet does not reply verbally.

DISCUSSION

Indigenous Schemas for Caregiver-Child Interaction

Notably, throughout their interaction with the teacher, the mother in example 1 does not intervene, attempt to prompt her children, or tell them to respond throughout their interaction with the teacher. I also frequently observed this behavior on the part of other mothers and caregivers in this Navajo community, i.e. a stance of nonintervention in their children's interactions (with both teachers as well as other children, in general). The mother's reaction in this example is important to the analysis offered here in two ways.

First, the fact that she does not intervene in her child's interaction with the teacher, and that mothers in general in this classroom did not, is part of a larger

pattern for interaction in Navajo society reflecting a general value on individual autonomy and avoidance of coercion (Lamphere, 1977; Holm & Holm, 1995; Field, 1998).

Secondly, she is displaying a preference for noncoercion which is also related to the sequencing of questions and answers in Navajo interaction; i.e., questions are typically framed as open-ended and/or addressed to a generalized audience rather than individuals, so that response may be *volunteered*, but is not immediately required. This general expectation, or schema for the organization of questions and responses, differs from that described by Lakoff (1972) and Schegloff & Sacks (1973) (cf. above) for Non-Native Americans, e.g. that the asker of a question expects an answer right away. According to the norms for etiquette in many Native American societies, questions are typically designed so that answers need not be "local" or immediately sequential, as this expectation would constitute an imposition on the hearer's autonomy. For example, questions may be addressed to an entire group, or framed as a rhetorical question, such as "I wonder whether ...?" (Leap, 1993). This kind of framing allows individual hearers more autonomy at the micro, interactional level of questioning as a speech act. It allows silence as an acceptable response without any awkwardness or loss of face on the speaker's part⁵.

Perhaps the mother in this example does not urge her children to respond to the teachers' questions as many Non-Native American mothers might, because their silence does not violate her (Navajo) schema for the organization of questions and answers, whereas her intervention in the speech event *would* in that insisting that her child answer the teachers' question would be a coercive act.

The question may also be raised concerning why teacher "E" pursues responses from the children when she herself is Navajo and from the local community. Notably, she does so at teacher "C"'s repeated request. As eloquently explained by Darnell (1979) in the quotation above, (for Cree classroom interaction), enacting the role of "teacher" in American society often means behaving in a manner which is not consistent with Native American etiquette.

When both children refuse to respond, "E" tactfully excuses them, saying, "that's the first step" (line 28), and "C" changes the subject, effectively dropping the lesson as she had planned it (there are still other children who have not been asked to "perform" yet). Thus, the use of silence as a response to questions may have important consequences for the negotiation of participation structure at the level of speech *event* (in this case, a "lesson," which "C" had planned). The point is that although participation structure may indeed be tied to culturally shared schemas for particular speech events, it also exists at the interactional level, and to a degree, must be negotiated by participants in any event.

Educators' Schemas for Classroom Interaction

Preconceived notions of appropriate participation structure(s) for particular contexts (such as school or lessons) exist in the form of culturally shared schemas,

such as the well known "initiation-response-feedback" sequence identified by Mehan (1982) for most American classrooms, in which teachers initiate interaction (with a question, most typically), students are expected to respond, and then teachers provide feedback in the form of evaluation of the students' response. Note that "C" does this in the above example when Mara responds "correctly." This schema for teacher-student interaction plays an important role in most American classrooms as it allows teachers to evaluate whether students are following and understanding the activity, especially at the preschool level. But as Philips, (1983) and other researchers of classroom interaction in many Native American cultures have noted (Dumont & Wax, 1969; Cazden & John, 1971; Darnell, 1979; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Van Ness, 1981), this schema for participation structure, in which someone (such as the teacher) controls the flow of speech, initiating questions directed to individuals and then overtly evaluating them, is a foreign one for many Native Americans, which has no analogue in any context outside of the school in their community(s). A common response to it when encountered is thus that of silence.

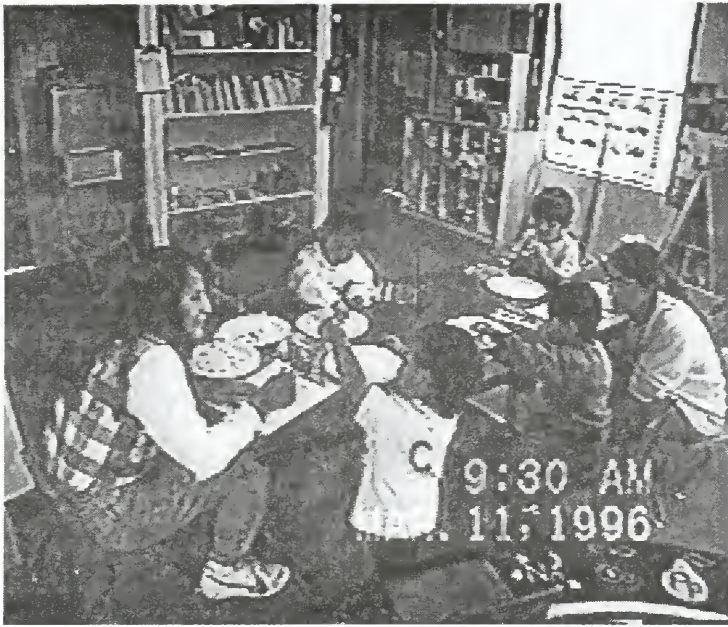
Deconstructing the "Silent Indian Child": Two Types of Silent Response

This example also illustrates well two *types* of silent response on the part of children in this classroom: 1) that of silence accompanied by nonorientation to speaker (Goodwin, 1981), as when the intended addressee pointedly averts his/her gaze or shifts their body posture away from the speaker, as Gwen does in this example, as opposed to 2) silence accompanied by engagement or orientation towards the speaker (Goodwin, 1981), as illustrated by Ronald in this example as well as by the children in examples two, three, and four.

These two types of silent response on the part of an addressee have very different consequences for the negotiation of participation structure at the interactional level. For example, the first type clearly indexes that the addressee does not wish to be an addressee *at all*, i.e., does not wish to be in the role (of addressee) which the speaker is constructing for him/her, and signals this stance through overt nonverbal cues such as aversion of gaze and/or shift of head or body alignment⁶. In this example, Gwen (4 years) averts her gaze away from teacher "C," and continues gazing at the floor throughout "C"'s and "E"'s repeated questions to her.

On the other hand, silence accompanied by nonverbal orientation toward the speaker indexes that the addressee is oriented in some way to the speaker, (as in Ronald's reaction to the teacher's questions). Ronald's reaction is not at all unusual for children in this classroom, many of whom would often establish eye contact with teachers when asked direct questions (such as "What is that?" "What are you making?"), but would choose not to respond verbally, or would respond later, after the teacher had moved on to another interaction.

Alternatively, responses on the part of children in this classroom were frequently nonverbal or silent, but indexed a greater degree of orientation to the speaker in the form of *gestures*. As the next section illustrates, such silent but gesture-filled



Example 2

responses also index a willingness to accept the role of addressee which has been imposed upon them by the speaker's direct question (especially when accompanied by an address term).

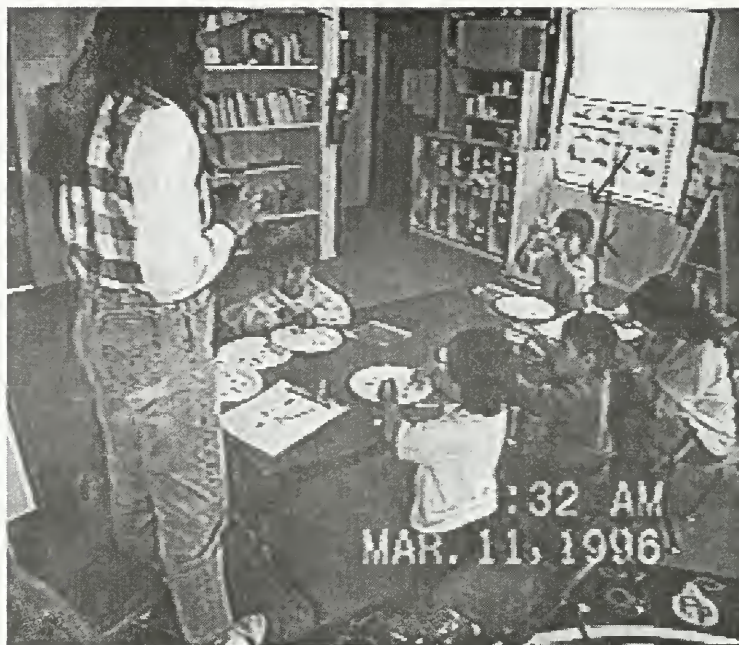
Nonverbal Responses to Questions: Indexing Engagement

The next examples (all drawn from a single activity) illustrate how gesture, such as pointing or holding out an object for the teacher's inspection, may constitute a reply:

2)

- | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------------------|
| 1 | C: | ((holds up some creation)) |
| 2 | T: | what's that, |
| 3 | | Cody? |
| 4 → | C: | ((no answer; photo taken here)) |
| 5 | T: | what is tha::t? |
| 6 → | C: | ((no answer)) |

In (2), Cody nonverbally initiates interaction with the teacher, ("E" from example (1) above) holding up what he has made out of marshmallows and toothpicks for her inspection. He does not verbally respond to her questions, yet clearly he is engaged with her, and continues to hold up his creation in silent response.



Example 3

Example (3) is similar except that the child (K) initiates the interaction verbally with a directive: “look, teacher, what I made.”

- 3)
 1 K: look,
 2 Teacher,
 3 what I made.
 4 (holds up creation)
 5 T: what is that?
 6 → K: ((no answer; photo taken here))

As the above examples illustrate, a response may be silent yet still be a response. Yet for the teacher, who has been trained to write down the children’s *verbal* responses to her questions as a form of evaluation, nonverbal responses do not quite fit into lesson plans, as the children eagerly display yet do not deign to label their creations (of marshmallows and toothpicks). Luckily for her, the children frequently *volunteer* labels for their creations, although their answers are not, for the most part, sequentially local to the teacher’s questions, as line 17 in the following example shows:

- 1 T: let's see,
 2 I think I'm gonna make something.
 3 (.5) what am I gonna build?
 4 B: I don't know?
 5 (2.0) build a house.
 6 T: Katy's making an animal?
 7 G: here.
 8 ((extending marshmallow on stick toward T))
 9 lookit.
 10 T: build something.
 11 can you build something?
 12 R: teacher, lookit!
 13 ((holds up marshmallow on stick))
 14 (2.0) look at!
 15 (1.0) at!
 16 T2 ((comes and gets more supplies for her group))
 17 → C: look at, I make animal.
 18 ((holds it up))
 19 T: you made an animal?
 20 wow,
 21 what is it?
 22 C: ((no response))
 23 ((T writes down what he said))
 24 T: where's your legs?
 25 huh?
 26 C: ((holds up his animal))⁸

These examples illustrate how the participation structure of a context, even a fairly ritualized context such as a lesson in a classroom, is a negotiated process. The teachers in the above examples have a fairly clear idea in mind about what the participation structure of a lesson needs to be: the teacher will ask questions and the pupils will respond verbally so that their utterances may be evaluated. This basic schema for the speech event "lesson" has related subschemas for sequential organization (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1982) and participation structure (Philips, 1983) and is often taken for granted by educators, especially as it grows out of the common American socialization practice of teaching children to label things through question routines (Heath, 1983; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1984). What I have tried to show in this paper, however, is that even though such a "top-down" schema for the participation structure of a particular speech event may exist, for example, in teachers' heads, the participation structure of any context must still be constituted through social practice, at the more micro, interactional level, and can not be taken for granted. As I hope to have illustrated with the above examples, the lessons which the teachers had planned in the above examples ran awry exactly because of such an assumption.

CONCLUSION

To summarize, this paper has argued that the notion of participation structure may be conceived of as 1) tacit knowledge which members of a speech community share concerning the organization of interaction in various, especially more ritualized, speech events, as well as 2) a negotiated process which is dependent on tacit knowledge or norms concerning the use of particular speech acts and their sequential organization at the more micro, interactional level. I have tried to show how these two levels of cultural knowledge interact as participants enact them and attempt to make sense of each other's actions and utterances (or lack of them) in terms of such tacit schemas. I have offered examples from a Navajo preschool classroom illustrating that the tacit expectations of teachers (Navajo or Non-Navajo) may not be shared by their pupils (or their pupils' parents), as ethnographers of classroom interaction in many other Native American communities (including Sahaptin, Chinook (Philips, 1983), Ute, Lakota (Leap, 1993), Ojibwa (Black, 1973), Cherokee (Dumont & Wax, 1969), Cree (Darnell, 1979), Odawa (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982), Western Apache (Liebe-Harkort, 1983), Chipewyan (Scollon & Scollon, 1981), and Koyokon (Van Ness, 1981)) have also argued. When different expectations exist concerning what is an "appropriate" participation structure, for a speech event or for a speech act, misunderstanding often typically ensues, as interactants attempt to infer each others' meaning based on differing inferential schemas (Levinson, 1979; Gumperz, 1982). Thus, silence as a response to questions may be perceived by Non-Native Americans as a sign of mishearing or misunderstanding of the previous utterance (as in example 1), or may not "count" as a preconceived notion of what a "response" should be (as in examples 2-4, where the teacher repeatedly asks questions designed to elicit a *verbal* response to write down). A better understanding of variation in cultural preferences for the organization of interaction, including participation structure, especially for educators in this country, can only help to improve educational practice, and is an issue which the field of applied linguistics may directly and usefully address.

NOTES

¹ For further references on this distinction between global and interactional levels of analysis, see Kulick 1992:254, and Fasold 1984, as well as Levinson's distinction between "utterance-event" and "speech event" (1988:167).

² The terms "schema" and "cultural model" are often used interchangeably in the cognitive anthropology literature. In this paper the term schema will be used for consistency.

³ I am indebted to the parents and staff of the Canoncito Family And Child Education program for their generous cooperation and aid in this project.

⁴ Data collected by Gwen's mother for me in their home revealed that English was indeed the preferred language used both by and to the children, so clearly the problem is not one of misunderstanding.

⁵ Importantly, the norms for question-asking may differ between intimates, in which case the violation of "etiquette" such as the asking of direct questions or giving of directives may in fact constitute the very social roles of intimate participants, as between very good friends or family

members.

⁶ Cf. Field 1988, chapter nine, for more in-depth discussion and examples of this type of silent response.

⁷ Note that this response "I don't know" illustrates a common response which all of the children certainly know how to produce, yet do not, for the most part (this was the only token in this transcript). Interestingly, here it is volunteered as a response to a question about what the *teacher* is making.

⁸ This interaction is continued in ex. 2.

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Triadic Participation in Organizational Meeting Interaction

M. Agnes Kang

University of California, Santa Barbara

Attention to multi-party talk has revealed that shifts in participation frameworks can be used to serve social functions in interaction. This paper gives a sequential analysis of a videotaped interaction from an organizational meeting, where participants use a particular interactional exchange to display and even create the personal relationships that exist between them. This is done by using a particular participation framework in what I call a triadic exchange in accomplishing particular social acts that are potentially face-threatening. I argue that this display contributes to how in-group membership is developed in these organizations. The use of triadic exchanges makes public the display of the participants' relationships to each other, making participation more accessible to a general audience and building in-group memberships that can develop over time through interaction.

Interest in multi-party interaction has shifted the focus of interactional studies from the canonical dyadic interaction to the diverse possibilities introduced by more than two participants in an interaction (e.g., Goodwin, 1981; Duranti, 1986; Lerner, 1993; Schegloff, 1995). Attention to multi-party talk has highlighted the complex nature of multiple audiences and the fact that it is quite possible that no individual addressees can be delineated at any one time. The diversity of audiences available provides a setting in which interactional strategies can be used toward social goals. The meeting context, for example, provides a site in which interactional strategies can be used for building in-group membership.

In organizations in which the personal rapport between participants influences the strength of the organization, the interactional possibilities of face to face interactions provided by the meeting context can serve to strengthen (or weaken) the ties within the organization. Even within the somewhat constrained context of an organizational meeting, participants still have access to the personal relationships they share with one another. The displaying of these relationships allows the participants to gauge, share in, or display inclusion in the group, both as an organizational body on one level, and as a social group on another. In these face to face encounters, participants share what Goffman calls a similar "access to the encounter" ([1979] 1981, p. 132).

In the social service organization discussed in this paper, the personal relationships between the participants are highlighted in the context of the meetings to establish and display in-group membership. Participants use interactional strategies involving shifting participation frameworks to accomplish this, especially when it involves potentially face-threatening acts (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Brown and Levinson (1987) define face-threatening acts as "those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker" (p. 65).

Warnings are included among the acts that threaten a hearer's negative-face wants. However, the example discussed here resembles more those acts that show that the speaker has a negative evaluation of the hearer's positive-face wants (e.g., expressions of disapproval, criticism, complaints, insults). These expressions of disapproval, I argue, are accomplished through the use of a triadic participation framework.

TRIADIC PARTICIPATION FRAMEWORKS

Philips (1972) defines participant framework as "possible variations in structural arrangements of interaction...or ways of arranging verbal interaction" (p. 377). These arrangements represent ways in which teachers and students interact, teach, and learn in the classroom setting. Although the nature of organizational meetings differs from the classroom setting, these differences (and similarities) can be discussed in terms of the participation frameworks that are available in interaction.

Philips' definition, however, has been criticized as a highly structural definition of participation. I define participation framework as a conceptual notion that emerges in interaction where participants display a shared knowledge of their relationships to one another (i.e., in terms of who is being addressed by whom, who is engaged in conversation, who is expected to respond, etc.).

In what I have named *triadic exchange* (Kang, to appear), a Speaker initiates a particular participation framework by addressing more than one type of addressee at once: a Speaker addresses a Mediating Addressee' (or *Mediator*) to communicate a message to another co-present addressee(s), or *Target*. The exchange is not defined as a linear event, but rather, as a framework of participation in which the participants themselves acknowledge a particular configuration of relationships between themselves through which interaction takes place. A diagram of the triadic exchange is given in Figure 1.

Speaker - - - - > Mediator ————> Target

Figure 1: Diagram of a triadic exchange

Although a speaker succeeds in conveying a message indirectly through the mediating presence of a third party, the message itself is not the essential element. Instead, a particular participation framework may be used to accomplish a certain action. With the ability to call upon a non-addressed participant, a speaker can draw attention to the participation framework s/he has evoked by virtue of the utterance s/he has just uttered. I propose that triadic exchanges take on social functions in the meeting context, where participants are part of an organization and must meet to discuss and make decisions about particular issues. In particular, I show that participation frameworks can be manipulated by participants to accomplish potentially face-threatening acts.

Situations in which a co-present participant is the target of talk have been

pointed out by anthropologists as well as linguists. This particular type of interactional exchange, in which two parties are addressed at once, is discussed by Clark and Carlson (1982), who call this a "lateral indirect illocutionary act." Haviland (1986) discusses situations where teasing takes place in Zinacantán. Irvine (1996) describes ritual insults by members of a Wolof village, where the tradition is for the new bride and her family to be the target of insults by the women of the groom's household. In another part of the world, Basso (1984) discusses how the Western Apache "shoot" each other with stories in order to teach a morality lesson to a particular addressee within the larger group of listeners. These studies suggest that the acts of teasing and insulting, especially in a ritual sense, are often pointed to as social acts that are performed through triadic participation frameworks. I argue that the potentially face-threatening nature of these acts is embedded in the type of participation framework that is used to accomplish them.

In the segment to be analyzed below, more teasing is done using this participation framework. This segment exemplifies one type of triadic exchange in which a target is referred to in the third person, or "talked about," in his presence. In Kang (to appear), I outline various ways in which triadic exchanges may be identified. These include use of third person pronominals, evocation of shared background information, sequential ratification on the part of the target, and non-verbal cues. In the present analysis, I give a sequential analysis of one type of triadic exchange in which the target becomes the "topic" of the interaction when the speaker refers to him in the third person. I show how the action of teasing is accomplished using the interactional resources available in face to face interaction, making a link between a type of activity (teasing), the practice through which it is realized, and the social outcome of the interaction, or how the personal relationships between participants are affected.

DATA AND ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUNDS

The segment from "Summer Camp" is taken from a meeting of Korean American camp counselors who are preparing for a summer youth camp (which I will call Camp Reyes). The counselors are college students who volunteer their time to work at this one-week camp in August. They meet regularly during the summer to prepare for the camp. The segment analyzed here is from a meeting early in the summer. Some are friends from previous years or from other contexts (e.g., school or church), and some had met for the first time that summer. In the summer camp, there are degrees of friendship shared by the members; some are couples, and some are virtual strangers. This segment shows how close friends and new friends can make use of participation frameworks to both reflect and index these relationships.

In a sense, the organization studied here is not typical of an institutional setting, where the institutional roles can be completely distinct from the personal relationships. They tend to intersect for these participants, and the atmosphere

during these meetings is often of an informal nature. It then follows that the interactions that take place during the meetings may be characteristic not only of meeting interaction, but of the building of various kinds of personal relationships.

The data were collected and transcribed by the researcher (myself) using the transcription conventions for broad transcription of Du Bois et al. (1993). The Summer Camp segment is part of a database collected for a larger project on participation frameworks in bilingual interaction (Kang, in progress). Refer to the appendix for a key to the transcription conventions.

WAYS OF TEASING

In this segment, Mark and Hank have been arguing about who had made the music tapes for a camp the previous year. Mark is the present director of the camp, and Hank is a counselor/assistant director of the camp and Mark's friend. Hank and Mark know each other well, due to previous years of working together. The setting of the interaction is the room where a meeting is soon to take place, and the excerpt below is taken from the conversation that takes place before the meeting starts. In the room are also Jill, who is Hank's girlfriend, several others who are also camp counselors (Andy and Ralph), and myself (Agnes). Figure 2 shows the arrangement of participants in this segment.

In this argument, Mark claims that he and Hank made the music tapes the previous year in the very room they are speaking in. Hank believes he made the tapes himself and tries to convince Mark that the only thing they did together in the meeting room is select songs for a slide show.



Figure 2: Configuration of participants in "Summer Camp"

The beginning of the segment starts off as a prototypical conversational exchange between Hank and Mark. Both are mutually engaged in this conversation, which soon turns into a disagreement. Throughout the conversation, until line 35, each participant's gaze is focused on the other, and they are the only ones engaged in the exchange. A background conversation, not represented here, occurs between Jill and Dave beginning at line 7 and ending at line 29. The others in the room appear disinterested in all interactions.

1 MARK: I made the last two with you you fool.
((gaze at Hank))
2 HANK: Not last year's.
3 MARK: Yeah.
4 We did it right here. ((points to the other side of the room))
5 HANK: Last year's?
6 MARK: Yeah.
7 HANK: We came up with the music.
8 ((Jill and Dave start conversing in the background))
9 MARK: We selected [all those last year].
10 HANK: [No,
11 That was yours]— ((pointing at Mark))
12 for your s- —
13 for your stupid—
14 that slide show that took like an hour.
15 MARK: What are you [talking about].
16 HANK: [at the banquet].
17 Remember?
18 MARK: No=,
19 I did that on my own.
20 HANK: No.
21 I remember,
22 the Camp ~Reyes music tape,
23 I made it at my house,
24 that morning before camp.
25 MARK: Really?
26 What did we do here?
27 [What did we do]—
28 HANK: [ninety-three]. ((1993))
29 MARK: What did we do here?
30 ((Jill and Dave stop conversing and turn their
31 attention to this conversation))
32 HANK: For your slide show.
33 We were picking out songs.
34 MARK: Oh.
35 HANK: ((pointing at Mark)) Don't work with him on anything
36 like tapes or something <@ because like @>,
((gaze at Dave, Ralph and Jill))
37 you'll give a suggestion and he'll be like,
38 yeah but,
39 and then he'll put his own suggestion down. ((gaze goes
40 to Mark by the end of utterance, then back to others))
41 ALL: @@@@
42 JILL: Oh. ((sympathetically))
43 MARK: Come on.
44 HANK: ((pointing at Mark)) He's the most anal person I've
45 ever met in my life.

- 46 DAVE: @@@@[@]
 47 JILL: [This is the] most anal person I've ever met
 48 in my life,
 49 dude. ((pointing to Hank))
 50 ((pointing between Hank and Mark))
 [It goes] down the list.
 51 MARK: [Camp ~Reyes]—
 52 Camp ~Reyes tapes have been pretty good.

Triadic exchanges begin in lines 35, 44, and 47. What is important to note at each of these points is who the utterance is addressed to. Initially, Hank and Mark are engaged in a dialogue, with some co-present hearers listening in. Their body orientations and gaze are toward each other, suggesting that their utterances are meant solely for the other. In line 35, Hank directs his gaze and body orientation toward the other counselors while pointing at Mark, which is a completely different body orientation. Plate 1 shows Hank's body orientation with respect to the other participants. Hank is pointing to Mark, who is off camera.

Up until this point, he had been engaged in conversation with Mark, negotiating who had made a certain camp tape the previous year. The content of Hank's utterance consists of a warning in the form of "Don't do X because of Y." This kind of act, that of criticizing Mark, would not logically be addressed to Mark



Plate 1: Body orientation of Speaker (Hank) in a triadic exchange.

directly using a third person pronoun ("Don't work with him..."). The use of the third person pronoun excludes Mark from being the traditional addressee, that is, "the one to whom the speaker addresses his visual attention and to whom, incidentally, he expects to turn over the speaking role" (Goffman, [1979] 1981, pp. 132-133). Mark becomes the "topic" of the conversation as well as the warning. The result of doing this in his presence, however, is that of teasing him and publicly criticizing him for his actions. While the propositional content of Hank's utterance in lines 35-39 is that of a warning, the action that results would be more accurately designated as a face-threatening act of teasing. The combination of gesture and gaze used in line 35 can be contrasted with line 11, where Hank directly addresses and refers to Mark while also pointing to him.

THE ROLE OF MEDIATORS IN A TRIADIC EXCHANGE

If Hank is not being addressed in the traditional sense, the next question would then be who is being addressed. From his lack of eye gaze, Ralph continues to be rather disinterested in the conversation, and Hank can only manage to gain the gaze of Dave, who acts as one addressee for Hank's utterance at lines 35-39. His words are said to Dave and (by virtue of being co-present) the other counselors. The laughter in lines 41 and 46 shows the response of the mediators in the triadic exchanges. But it is clear that the message he sends is intended for Mark (the target). Mark is obviously aware that he has been the subject of a public warning and responds to this in line 43 ("Come on"). That an utterance which is directed to one party can cause an effect on and elicit a response from another party is part of the triadic nature of this exchange.

In terms of non-verbal cues, Goodwin (1981) has emphasized the importance of mutual gaze for any collaborative activity to be successful, and that "the gaze of a speaker toward another party can constitute a signal that the speaker's utterance is being addressed to that party" (p. 30). Gaze itself is used as a recognizable action that orients participants to one another. Gaze and body orientation are the main criteria by which the addressees in this segment have been identified, along with the use of third person reference. The use of gaze in triadic exchanges is detailed further in Kang (to appear), which includes the identification of a common gaze pattern in triadic exchanges. In the present analysis, I focus on how this specific interactional exchange is used for face-threatening acts and its effects on the personal relationships of the participants.

In this segment, Hank lodges his complaint against Mark through the mediating presence of the other counselors in the room. Hank is able to access participants and their potential as hearers as a resource in conveying his dissatisfaction with Mark's past actions. Similarly, in line 44, Hank addresses the counselors while pointing again at his targeted audience, Mark. In lines 44-45, Hank makes a characterization about Mark, referring to him in the third person, that again results in a public criticism/teasing of Mark. This utterance also cannot logically be addressed

to Mark, but Hank clearly realizes that Mark will also hear his utterance. He points to Mark, using him almost as a prop, while at the same time defaming him. He succeeds in teasing Mark by using a triadic participation structure that involves not just himself and Mark, but also a third party (the other counselors). This strategy highlights how important the participation framework is in the structure of interaction, especially when it can be used as a vehicle to accomplish a social action.

The act of addressing someone indirectly when the direct option is available along with the act of teasing sets up various expectations about the subsequent interactions. First, the "person complained about" would understandably have a desire to respond to the complaint, whether it is to argue against it or perhaps even to accept and agree with it. The "person complained to" would also have cause to respond to the speaker lodging the complaint. If lines 44-45 had been addressed directly to Mark, the speaker would make a response from Mark (i.e., a rebuttal, complaint or other redressive action) relevant. By expressing the negative characterization indirectly, Hank makes alignment on the part of the bystanders relevant next. In this case, the responses from the participants vary somewhat: Dave aligns with it by laughing; Jill rebuts it by her sympathetic "oh" in line 42.

The potentially face-threatening act opens up expectations for responses from both the target and the mediator(s) and makes the alignment or non-alignment of the co-participants a shared expectation in the interaction. This practice may also be a way of avoiding having the target of the complaint respond immediately. The expectation of more than one response may also diffuse the effects of the warning/teasing. The nature of the responses by the participants who may have different relationships to one another makes for an interesting site for analysis as well. This dual expectation in terms of response places these three parties in a unique relationship that comprises a triadic participation framework. The participants act and respond to one another in such a way that demonstrates a shared understanding of an engaged interaction.

TRIADIC PARTICIPATION AS SOCIAL ACTION

These moments draw attention to the changing participation framework and display how messages can be mediated by different participants in interaction; in essence, the way of conveying the message becomes part of the message itself.

The relationship between the friends in the segment also allows for an atmosphere of joking and teasing as well as a common understanding of the implications of certain events, such as possible past interactions where Mark has exhibited similar behavior. This interaction evokes a particular participation framework that allows the friends to share in the activity of laughing at Hank's public criticism of Mark, even when all the participants may not (and, in fact, do not) share the same level of familiarity with the shared background between Mark and Hank.

The relationships participants have to one another and their actions influ-

ence participation in that certain relationships may give participants a greater "entitlement" to laughter at another's expense. It is noteworthy here which individuals laugh the most and visibly show signs of active participation in reacting to the exchanges in the segment. Jill's sympathetic "oh" in line 42 indexes, in a sense, her close relationship to Hank, who is her boyfriend. She is also the initiator of another triadic exchange in lines 47-48, this time with Hank as the target of the teasing. Thus a kind of "snowball effect" occurs as participants adopt the triadic exchange to shift the participation framework. The tendency for participation frameworks to replicate may show some evidence of sensitivity to frameworks on the part of participants. Jill's gaze and body orientation in the segment indicate that more than one addressee is being addressed. Although these incidents of teasing are done in the spirit of good fun, Jill may also be succeeding in diffusing any possible tension between Hank and Mark, who have been disagreeing in this conversation. Here she may be able to use her status as Hank's girlfriend to deflect Hank's face-threatening act against Mark. Further research into the gender roles associated with certain social acts and frameworks of participation may also be another interesting avenue for future research.

The dynamics of the group can influence when and how triadic exchanges occur. The timely end to the background conversation presents the opportunity for Hank to draw the others in the room into his conversation with Mark. Since the conversation between Jill and Dave has ended by line 30, they can turn their full attention and gaze to the conversation going on between Mark and Hank. Hank can then take advantage of Jill's and Dave's undivided attention to help him criticize Mark in a public arena. Dave, in particular, appears eager to fulfill this role of audience for Hank's insults, as evident in his laughter in both lines 41 and 46. He is visibly enjoying this public activity of insulting Mark even though he is a rather new counselor who has only met the others in the past few weeks. It is here that some ethnographic information becomes relevant. Hank, Mark, and Jill know each other more intimately, which makes the insulting/joking possible. However, the public display of this relationship allows others, like Dave, to join in and participate, even without taking a turn at talk. Because the shifting participation framework is publicly displayed and accessible to the group as a whole, participants who would not otherwise be involved in insulting Mark can be included and actively participate. Although Dave is not actively involved in teasing Mark, or manipulating the participation framework directly, the shared understanding of a triadic participation framework leaves room for him to be included as a mediator, which at least gives Dave a foothold in involving himself in the interaction between Hank and Mark. This *de facto* way of participating in interactions may be a way for Dave to establish a deeper personal relationship with the other counselors and presents a way of becoming part of the in-group of camp counselors/friends.

On another level, the interaction calls upon personal relationships and makes these somehow relevant to the "business" context of organization. Each interaction carries with it the potential for building a stronger and deeper relationship

among its participants by revealing the relationships they share with one another. In-group membership is formed, in part, by the shared access to personal relationships that the meeting context provides. As an organization, these opportunities for face to face interaction contribute to the collective memory of the participants. The engaging in or even merely the witnessing of such interactions then becomes part of the identity of the group and the members that comprise it.

The discussion of ways in which triadic exchanges can accomplish social actions has indicated the complex nature of how verbal and non-verbal aspects of interaction work together in conversation. Dave, by his participation in the triadic exchanges, makes himself part of a participation framework that is linked to personal interaction without even a turn at talk. Being part of the interaction symbolizes his status as a member of the group on a social level, and suggests that this interaction may have brought Dave closer to achieving in-group membership. His small part in the above interactions also links him to the face-threatening acts of the others, which has allowed him access in some way to the others' personalities and private pasts. In this way, the activity of teasing Hank has also, albeit inadvertently, contributed to giving Dave a place among this social group.

CONCLUSIONS

This discussion has shown that certain participation frameworks can be associated with specific social functions, in particular, that recurrent participation frameworks can be called upon for displaying or even creating personal relationships. The analysis of individual interactions may seem trivial and of little consequence, but the personal interactions that are embedded within larger speech events, like the organizational meeting, constitute the fabric of social life. The identity of groups emerges from the individual social ties that are built within and in the presence of members of one's social network. Participation frameworks become a vehicle through which this performance of social relationships is realized in interaction.

One way in which social relationships are established and developed is through specific social acts performed in interaction. This analysis has looked at one particular social act, that of teasing, to show how it is accomplished through a collectively recognized participation framework. In this way, the activity of teasing, at a local level, is associated with a larger pattern of interaction, or practice, through which it is realized. This practice, as discussed above, is indexed and responded to in subsequent interaction and informs how participants in triadic exchanges are able to recognize each others' and their own roles in the interactions as well as the social outcomes achieved by them.

Furthermore, this interactional device can be used to bid for intimacy, as in the case of the novice camp counselor who participates in this interaction as a way of fitting in and belonging to the group. Organizations consist of individuals, and their interactions build relationships and understandings, not vice versa. What in-

teractional studies can reveal is the process by which in-group membership is formed and developed, giving us a picture, in apparent time, of the social processes that are constantly taking place. Participants can evoke particular participation frameworks, recognize them as such, and acknowledge their presence within the course of subsequent talk.

This analysis has examined the particular activity of teasing, which has often been cited as involving a special participation framework in many cultures. This action can involve many forms of propositional content, from complaining and warning, to insulting, often in a ritual or a joking sense. I propose that what these types of teasing have in common is a common participation framework through which they may be accomplished, and may be recognizable as teasing by the participants themselves. This established link between interaction, practice, and social relationships invites us to consider what other interactional exchanges may be embedded within participation frameworks and how further research in shifting participation frameworks may shed light on the social relationships established through interaction.

APPENDIX

Transcription conventions from Du Bois et al. (1993):

Units

Intonation unit	{ carriage return }
Truncated intonation unit	_____
Truncated word	-

Speakers

Speaker identity/turn start	:
Speech overlap	[]
Co-indexed speech overlap	[# #]

Lengthening and Pauses

Lengthening	=
Pause (long)	...(N)
Pause (medium)	...
Pause (short)	..

Vocal Noises

Vocal noises	()
Inhalation	(H)
Exhalation	(Hx)
Glottal stop	%
Laughter	@

Quality

Quality	<Y Y>
Laugh quality	<@ @>
Quotation quality	<Q Q>

Transcriber's Perspective

Researcher's comment

(())

Uncertain hearing

<X X>

Indecipherable syllable

X

Pseudonym

~

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Teaching the Body to Make Tea within Social Interaction

Carleen Ann Curley

University of California, Los Angeles

This article investigates the directives and responses used in a tea ceremony demonstration lesson in Japanese. It moves beyond the talk of the lesson and incorporates explanations of the gestures into the analyses. Among the responses to the directives, there are occasional breakdowns of intersubjectivity. When the teacher chooses to deal with the breakdowns, her spoken turns resemble third position repair from conversation analysis. These repair turns are accompanied by gestures, which become a critical component in the achievement of understanding within this embodied activity.

This article will investigate the organization of a tea ceremony demonstration lesson through the directives and responses used in this collaborative, multi-modal activity. In particular, it will illustrate how gesture and talk complement each other within an activity that requires appropriate manipulation of specific artifacts. Within this activity gesture is both a central medium of instruction and repair, and a crucial component of what participants are explicitly monitoring in each other's behavior.

DATA

Data used in this paper was taken from a tea ceremony demonstration lesson video taped in America. The author transcribed the data following the conventions developed by Jefferson (summarized in Atkinson & Heritage, 1984), with one slight modification. In the English translation, words that are not present in the Japanese, but are necessary for understanding in the English translation, have been added in parenthesis. This section will provide an explanation of the participants and an introduction to the setting of the tea ceremony¹ lesson that will be analyzed later in this article.

THE PARTICIPANTS

There were two participants in this tea ceremony demonstration lesson. For simplicity's sake, I will address the teacher as Tomo (T) and the student as Sae (S). These two participants are 33 and 31 years old, respectively. Tomo and Sae are friends; however, in this activity, they take on the roles of teacher and student, respectively. On this day, Tomo is teaching Sae the proper way to make tea according to the Urasenke-style of the tea ceremony. Although both of these women have studied the tea ceremony in the past, they each studied a different style: Tomo studied the Urasenke-style tea ceremony and Sae studied the Omotesenke-style

tea ceremony. Therefore, we can assume that the participants have a certain degree of shared knowledge about the basic steps needed during the tea ceremony. The native language and primary home language of the participants is Japanese.

THE SETTING

During this lesson, the teacher and student are sitting side by side, with the teacher to the student's right (see Diagram 1). In front and a little to the left of the student is the tea box that contains the primary tools that she will need for making tea. In addition, to the right of the tea box is a thermos that contains hot water, also necessary for making tea. Throughout this activity, the participants sustain this orientation, thereby creating an F-formation² (Kendon, 1985). Furthermore, due to the placement of the tools, which are visible to both the student and the teacher, whenever the student is manipulating these tools, her actions are visible to the teacher. This seating configuration also makes it possible for both participants to orient to the movements that occur within this participation space.

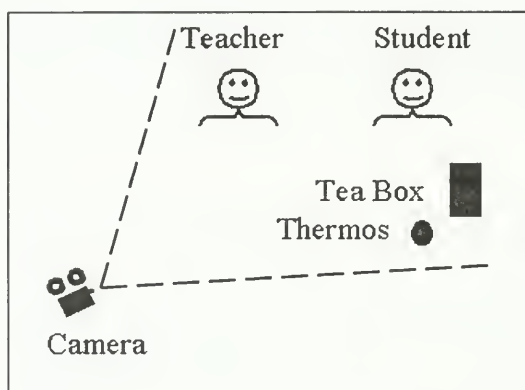


Diagram 1

THE ACTIVITY OF TEACHING TEA CEREMONY

The first example that I will present consists of the teacher directing the student to pick up the lid of the tea box, properly place her hands on it, and rotate it in preparation for placement. This sequence, as well as subsequent sequences, is taken from the first step involved in the activity of the tea ceremony — the arrangement of utensils:

Transcript 1³

- 12 T: De futa dake totte:::
and lid only pick up
And picking up only (the) lid.

- 13 (0.4)
- 14 De migi te ga mae
and right hand SM front
(Move your) right hand (to the) front (of the lid).
- 15 S: Migi te ga m[ae]
right hand SM front
Right hand (to the) front (of the lid).
- 16 T: [Hida]ri te ga ushiro[:]
left hand SM back
**(Move your) left hand (to the)
back (of the lid).**
- 17 S: [Ushir]o:
back
Back.
- 18 (0.3)
- 19 T: De, kyuujiyu do mawashi:te:,
And ninety degrees turn
And turn (the lid) ninety degrees.
- 20 (.)
- 21 De migi te ga mata mae
and right hand SM again front
**Then, (bring your) right hand (to the)
front (of the lid) again.**
- 22 (0.5)
- 23 Hidari te ga ushiro::
left hand SM back
(Bring your) left hand (to the) back.
- 24 (0.6)
- 25 Hai. de.
yes and
Yes, and

Lines 12-14 from Transcript 1 are relevant to illustrate how gesture is critical in the achievement of understanding in this collaborative activity. In order to

better illustrate the gestures in this example and later examples, boxes have been drawn around the words that co-occur with the gestures presented in the callout boxes.

- 14 T: De migi te ga mae ((Demonstration of this utterance by Tomo.))
 and right hand SM front
(Move your) right hand (to the)
front (of the lid).
- 15 S: Migi te ga mae] ((Sae moves her right hand to the front of the lid.))
 right hand SM front
Right hand (to the) front
(of the lid).
- 16 T: [Hida] ri te ga ushiro[:]
 left hand SM back
(Move your) left hand (to the)
back (of the lid).

While Tomo utters line 14, she is directing Sae to carry out the action of moving her right hand to the front of the lid. This first pair part creates an interpretive framework for what should be a relevant next move or response in this activity by Sae. In addition, in line 14, Tomo quotes her own talk with a demonstration of it. As she was saying, "...hand to the front," the box around the words indicates that she was actually moving her right hand as if moving it to the front of an actual lid. This gesture, which is used here as a demonstration, is illustrated by Picture 1. Here, Tomo's utterance is depicting the referent (the lid), by her movements, which are positioned in space as if she were interacting with an actual lid. Through this demonstration, Sae is able to see the movement being requested.

After the completion of Tomo's utterance in line 14, Sae responds with the action of moving her right hand to the front of the actual lid, a move that is relevant because of Tomo's directive. Sae's action is outlined with a box in line 15 above.



Picture 1: Demonstration by Tomo of moving hand as if to front of lid.



Picture 2: Sae moving her hand in front of actual lid.

While Sae is carrying out this action, she verbally repeats the directive that Tomo gave her in line 14, as illustrated by Picture 2. Sae's verbal repetition and actual demonstration of the directive are two ways, in different semiotic fields, that Sae can use to demonstrate understanding of the teacher's request.

When Sae is manipulating the lid in line 15, she is doing so within the visual field of Tomo. During this time, Tomo is actually looking over at Sae, monitoring her actions. It is clear that Tomo is monitoring Sae's actions because when Sae's action and utterance near completion in line 15, Tomo begins giving the next directive, line 16, in overlap. Going on to the next part of an activity sequence is one way that a teacher can demonstrate the correctness of a student's action, which can be assessed through a monitoring of gestures.

The directives and responses continue in this segment until line 24 with the teacher and student demonstrating and/or doing the following: moving their left hands to the back of the lid, rotating it 90 degrees, and moving their right hands to the front and their left hands to the back of the lid again, as illustrated in Table 1. The text of the talk is in plain text (translated into English), but the gestures are italicized and placed in double parentheses.

During this segment, the teacher initiates a directive and the next move is for the student to perform the gesture demonstrated by the teacher. In the way that she does it, as an act that can be seen by the teacher, she displays her understanding and ability to perform the requested action. Sometimes talk accompanies Sae's displays, as in lines 15 and 17-18; however, sometimes it is through the demonstration alone, as in lines 13, 20, 22, and 24, that the Sae displays her understanding of and ability to carry out an action. The last directive/response sequence in this segment is followed by the spoken evaluation "yes" in line 25 marking that the action of manipulating the lid was correctly performed:

Line	Actor	Talk and Bodily Action
12	Tomo	And picking up only (the lid)
13	Sae	((Picks up the lid))
14	Tomo	(Move your) right hand (to the) from (of the lid). ((Moving her right hand as if to the front of a lid.))
15	Sae	Right hand (to the) front (of the lid). ((Moves her right hand to the front of the lid.))
16	Tomo	(Move your) left hand (to the) back (of the lid). ((Moving her left hand as if to the back of a lid.))
17-18	Sae	Back. ((Moves her left hand to the back of the lid.))
19	Tomo	And turn (the lid) ninety degree. ((Turns her hands as if turning a lid 90 degrees.))
20	Sae	((Turns the lid 90 degrees.))
21	Tomo	Then, (bring your) right hand (to the) front (of the lid) again. ((Moving her right hand as if to the front of a lid.))
22	Sae	((Moves her right hand to the front of the lid.))
23	Tomo	(Bring your) left hand to the back. ((Moving her left hand as if to the back of the lid.))
24	Sae	((Moves her left hand to the back of the lid.))
25	Tomo	Yes. ((Nod.))

Table 1

23	T:	Hidari te ga ushiro:: left hand SM back (Bring your) left hand (to the) back.	((Demonstration of this utterance by Tomo.))
24		(0.6)	
25		Hai. de. yes and Yes, and	((Sae moves her left hand to the back of the lid.))

In line 23, Tomo again uses gesture to demonstrate her utterance throughout

her talk by moving her left hand as if she were moving it to the back of an actual lid. In response to Tomo's utterance from line 23, Sae moves her hand to the back of the lid, as indicated by the box that starts at the end of line 23 and continues through line 24. Thus, though there is no talk responding to Tomo's directive from line 23, Sae's action displays her understanding of the directive, which, as we will see in line 25, serves as an adequate response. Sae's nonverbal response in this directive/response sequence is followed by an evaluation, as indicated by the "hai" or "yes," in line 25. A spoken evaluation is another structure that a teacher can use to mark the end of a step in the activity and display the ongoing mutual understanding between herself and a student.

The sequence that I just presented is an example of a situation in which the participants engaged in joint collaborative action use talk, coordinated gestures, and body orientation to display understanding throughout. Now I will show how a breakdown in intersubjectivity can arise as a practical problem in this collaborative activity and how understanding is negotiated through the use of talk and gesture.

THE NEGOTIATION AND ACHIEVEMENT OF UNDERSTANDING

The next sequence occurs subsequent to the sequence presented above, in which Tomo has just taken Sae through the process of picking up the lid, manipulating it, and placing it on the floor. In this sequence as well, Tomo and Sae are still involved in the placement of the tools. Tomo is instructing Sae to pick up the inner tray in preparation for placement:

Transcript 2

- 37 T: Hai. de,
yes and
Yes, then ((Tomo acts as if she is picking up the inner tray.))
- 38 Nakabuta o kondo totte::
Inner tray OM next pick up
Next, pick up (the) inner tray ((Sae picks up the entire box.))
- 39 (0.2)
- 40 A- >Uh-un, nakab[uta dake] <
Oh- uh uh inner tray only
Oh- uh uh, only (the) inner tray ((Tomo's hand reaches out to stop the movement of the box.))

- 41 S: ((Sae returns the box to its original position.)) [A- g] omen na[sai] =
Oh- excuse me
- 42 T: [hai]
yes
Yes.
- 43 S: =nakabuta dake?
inner tray only
Only (the) inner tray?
- 44 T: Hai.
yes
Yes. ((Sae picks up and places the inner tray.))
- 45 S: Hai.
yes
Yes.
- 46 T: De, mannaka ni oite:
and middle in put
And, put (it) in (the) middle (between the lid and the box).

Throughout this activity, as illustrated in the previous section, Tomo is monitoring Sae's actions by gazing at her hands and evaluating them in terms of correctness.

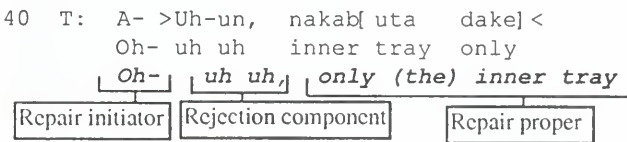
The teacher demonstrates an evaluation of correctness by moving on to the next step in the activity. She does this in two ways. First, she uses the verbal evaluation "hai" or "yes" to mark that the action in the activity was correctly performed. Second, she progresses the activity to the next step by using the lexical item "de" or "and." In the omitted lines prior to line 37 of Transcript 2, Tomo had been explaining to Sae how to properly place the lid on the floor in the "hangakari" position. This was followed by Sae actually placing the lid on the ground. This action of placing the lid on the ground is the action that is being evaluated during the first part of line 37. When Tomo says, "Hai." or "yes" in this line, she is evaluating the correct completion of Sae's prior action.

After the completion of this action has been publicly established, Tomo moves on to the next action in this activity — that of picking up the inner tray. The progression of the activity is marked by the connector "de" or "and." "De" is used as an announcement of moving on to the next stage in an activity. By moving on to the next stage, the "de" can display an analysis of the correct completion or projected completion of the student's activity. This usage of "de" has a similar function to the "and" presented by Heritage and Sorjonen (1994). They explored how

'and' linked question/answer pairs in a series. They then presented an analysis of how 'and' can help achieve "a form of continuity or coherence ... across this [a] group of questions ... across a series of adjacency pairs," (p. 4). Although the adjacency pairs that I am dealing with in the present study are directive/response adjacency pairs rather than question/answer ones, the usage of 'and' as a way of sustaining coherence across sequences still applies to these data. Furthermore, each usage of "de" progresses the activity further.

The teacher demonstrates a lack of correctness by stopping a line of action in progress in order to deal with any trouble of telling, hearing, or misunderstanding that has been displayed by the student. Starting with the "de" in line 37 and continuing through line 38, Tomo directs Sae to pick up the inner tray. Her demonstration of this coincides with the talk in lines 37 - 38, as illustrated by the box on Transcript 2. However, in line 38, after hearing only the word "inner tray" and the accompanying object marker, Sae picks up the entire tea box, also illustrated in Transcript 2. This demonstration is Sae's response to both the talk and demonstration by Tomo in lines 37-38. By picking up the entire tea box, Sae displays an incorrect understanding of the object mentioned in line 38, which she was instructed to pick up. However, if you observe the gesture that Tomo displays in lines 37-38 (see Picture 3) and the gesture that Sae uses at the end of line 38 to carry out the directive (see Picture 4), they look the same. This display of misunderstanding becomes an excellent example of the limitations of gesture alone in the instruction of an embodied activity.

In fact, in the following line, the words disambiguate the gesture, illustrating how words and gesture must both be used to clearly demonstrate what needs to be done in this lesson. During line 38, Tomo is gazing at Sae's hands. Shortly after Sae picks up the entire tea box, Tomo corrects the incorrect action in line 40 by telling her again to pick up the inner tray. However, in this line, she tells her to pick up only the inner tray. This utterance is known to conversation analysts as third position repair⁵. This action consists of the following components:



Line 40 starts with a repair initiator "A-" or "Oh" and is followed by a rejection component. These two components are followed by the repair proper, which is a specification of the trouble source from line 38, indicating that she should only pick up the inner tray, rather than the entire box (which includes the inner tray). While uttering line 40, Tomo reaches out to stop the movement of the tea box (see Picture 5). Thus, in addition to her verbal repair of the trouble source, she attempts to halt the action in progress. Stopping the activity in progress by stopping move-



Picture 3: Demonstration by Tomo of picking up the inner tray.

ment is one resource that a teacher can use to prevent further development. This is in contrast to the example above when the teacher used “de” or “and” to progress the action.

Upon hearing this repair, Sae returns the box to its original position (through-out lines 41-42) and demonstrates an understanding of her incorrect action through an apology in line 41, which occurs in overlap with her action of moving the box back to its original position. By not completing the activity, she, as the student, indicates her awareness that the action she was in the process of performing was incorrect. Then, she requests clarification of what she should do in line 43. Sae then launches her action (line 44) of picking up the inner tray upon completion of her clarification request in line 43. Upon seeing that Sae is in a course of action that coincides with the request, i.e. to pick up the inner tray, Tomo continues on with the next line of action in line 46. By continuing, we can conclude that what Tomo is doing when gazing at Sae’s hands is monitoring for correctness or lack of correctness: she stops to correct the action if the student incorrectly carries it out, as in line 38, visibly displaying that a repair is in progress, and she continues with the activity once it has been carried out correctly, as in line 46.



Picture 4: Sae picks up the entire box



Picture 5: Tomo reaches out and stops movement of tea box.

ANALYSIS OF AN EXTENDED SEQUENCE

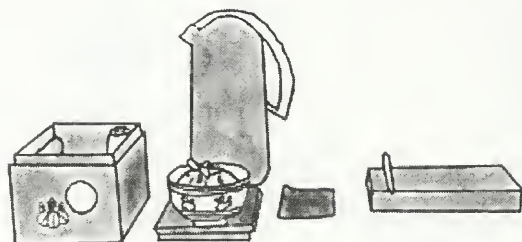
In this section, I will illustrate how gesture is a central medium of instruction and repair in an extended sequence that deals specifically with how the hand should be positioned in relation to an object when making tea.

The next sequence, also, is within the first step of the tea ceremony — placement of utensils. Here, Tomo will be instructing Sae to pick up the *onatsume* and put it on the lid (which is on the ground). An *onatsume* is a lacquer box containing tea powder used for making Japanese thin tea. Because this word is highly cultural, there is no adequate English translation for it. Therefore, I will use the Japanese word *onatsume* throughout to refer to the utensil in Picture 6.

The analysis of Transcript 3 will focus on the repair that occurs in this activity at a point when Tomo is directing Sae to take the *onatsume* out of a small pouch that is inside the tea bowl. After Sae takes the *onatsume* out of the tea bowl, she is to place it in the center of the lid. At the beginning of this sequence, the tools are in the configuration illustrated in Picture 7 (which displays them from the student's perspective). By the end of the analysis, it will be clear how systematically the teacher and student collaborate as they negotiate the meaning of the task at hand in order to proceed with the next step of the activity. The transcript for this segment is as follows:



Picture 6: *Onatsume* - a lacquer tea box.



Picture 7: Lay-out of the tools.

Transcript 3

- 105 T: De, mata musumibe o migi te de
and next knot OM right hand with
- 106 hipparimasu
pull
*And next, pull the knot (of the small pouch
that was inside the cup) with (your) right
hand.*
- 107 S: 'Migi te de'
right hand with
With (my) right hand.
- 108 T: Hai.
yes
Yes.
- 109 (0.8)
- 110 De zenbu tokemasu kara
and all untie after
And after untying (it) all,
- 111 (1.4)
- 112 De, shizuka ni onatsume o (0.8) migi te de
and quietly lacquer OM right hand with
- 113 yappari todashite,
again take out
*Quietly take out (the) "onatsume" (from the
tea bowl) with (your) right hand again.*

114 De, futa no mannaka ni oite kudasai
and lid POS center in put please
**And please place (it) in (the) center
(of the) lid.**

115 E, a, kotchi no futa desu ne
e- a- this POS lid COP FP
Oh, u- this lid.

116 S: Hai
yes
Yes.

117 T: [Hai
yes
Yes.

118 (0.4)

119 [De, a. onatsume wa]
AND oh tea box TM
And oh. the lacquer box...

120 S: [(*Mannaka de ii desu ka*)]
middle OK COP Q
Is the middle OK?

121 T: Ee. k- koo iu fuu ni
yes k- this say way
Yes. Like th- this.

122 Tyotto i- tyotto ii desu ka
a lit- a little good COP Q
Ma- may I?

123 S: Hai
yes
Yes.

124 T: Koo iu fuu ni nanka tsukamu n desu.
like this filler grasp N COP
Grasp (it) like this.

125 Ano,
well
Well,

126 S: Hai
yes
Yes.

127 (0.4)

128 Kakaru yoo ni
cover like
(So that my hand) covers (the tea box)?

129 T: Hai
yes
Yes.

130 (0.5)

131 Yubi o koo, hitosashiyubi o tatete
finger OM like index finger OM stick out
**Stick out (your) finger, (like your)
index finger.**

132 (0.5)

133 Hai
yes
Yes,

134 Soo iu fuu ni ue kara tsukan de
that say way top from grab and
Grasp (it) up from (the) top like that.

135 Mannaka ni oite kudasai
center in put please
Please put (it) in (the) center.

In lines 105-113 Tomo directs Sae to take the onatsume out of the small pouch that is inside the tea bowl. It is necessary for the student to pick up the onatsume because the next step in the activity is to place it in its appropriate location. Lines 105-113 progress unproblematically, as indicated by the talk of the teacher, who goes on to each next step with the connector “de” or “and.” She moves on from line 113 after having the student pull the knot of the small pouch, and pick up the onatsume quietly with her right hand.

In contrast to lines 105-113, the next two lines indicate a problem and begin the negotiation of understanding between the teacher and the student:

- 114 De, futa no mannaka ni oite kudasai
 and lid POS center in put please
**And please place (it) in (the) center
 (of the) lid.**
- 115 E, a, kotchi no futa desu ne
 e- a- this POS lid cop FP
Oh, u- this lid.
- 116 S: H[ai
 yes
Yes.
- 117 T: [Hai
 yes
Yes.

In line 114, Tomo tells Sae to please place the *onatsume* on the center of the lid. When Tomo does this, she deploys a first pair part within a directive/response sequence. Here we will see that this first pair part is critical because it defines a relevant framework within which the student must carry out the given order. Furthermore, as she gives this directive initially, Tomo extends her hand and demonstrates putting the *onatsume* on the lid (see Picture 8 for the actual position of the participants and the enlarged version of Tomo's hand demonstration during line 114). Tomo's utterance and action in line 114 have publicly established an understanding of the normative action, which will later allow Tomo to use this standard to evaluate Sae's actions. Again, note that Sae is manipulating the tools in a participation space that is accessible to Tomo. This is relevant because during line 114, Tomo's head (see Picture 8) is turned towards Sae's hands as she monitors her actions. More will be said about this later. As detailed in Transcript 1, following this directive by the teacher, a response is relevant by the student. During the last part of line 114, as highlighted by the callout box in the transcript, Sae takes the *onatsume* from the pouch and starts to put it on the inner tray. Here, her response is displaying an incorrect understanding of the prior utterance because she is putting the *onatsume* on the inner tray just above the tea bowl, rather than on the lid, as the teacher had instructed (refer to Picture 7 for the configuration of the tools).

From Line 115, we can see that Tomo has been monitoring the actions of Sae. First, the utterance in line 114 allowed Tomo to analyze Sae's actions in terms of whether or not they were fulfilling the directive of placing the *onatsume* on the



Picture 8: Tomo demonstrates placing the *onatsume* on the lid.

lid. The repair in line 115, an evaluation of the visible performance of the student, demonstrates that the teacher has been monitoring. Furthermore, since this is an embodied manipulation of the *onatsume*, monitoring is the only way to evaluate the correctness of the student's action. During this part of the sequence, Tomo's head is turned towards Sae. While Sae is carrying out this incorrect action, Tomo responds with a correction:

115 T: E, a, kotchi no futa desu ne
 e- a- this POS lid COP FP
 Oh, u- this lid.
 Repair initiator Repair proper

In this sequence, line 115 starts with the repair initiator "Oh-". This repair initiator is critical to the organization of this activity because it stops the line of action that is being carried out by the student. When Tomo utters the repair initiator, Sae pauses her movement: she had started setting the *onatsume* down on the inner tray, but she does not bring that action to completion, as illustrated in Picture 9.

The repair proper in this segment begins with the deictic term "kotchi." In the talk, this deictic term serves to specify the trouble source (specifying "lid" with "this lid"). Also, by using the deictic in her talk, Tomo explicitly focuses attention on a phenomenon in another semiotic modality. This deictic term is accompanied by a pointing gesture (see Picture 9), which serves to specify the actual object that Tomo is referring to, i.e., the lid rather than the inner tray. After this deictic gesture has been launched, Sae moves the *onatsume* from its problematic position on the inner tray to its correct position on the lid (see Picture 10), now providing an



Picture 9: Sae pauses her action and Tomo points to the correct location

unproblematic response to the directive from line 114 instructing her to place the *onatsume* on the lid.

This sequence approaches its close when Sae acknowledges the repair, both by uttering “hai” in line 116 and by correctly responding to Tomo’s directive from line 114. When Tomo provides an evaluation, in line 117, of the adequacy of Sae’s action⁶, the sequence ends.

As the sequence progresses, it becomes evident that line 114 is still a trouble source:



Picture 10: Sae brings the *onatsume* to the correct location.

114 De, futa no mannaka ni oite kudasai
 and lid POS center in put please
 And please place (it) in (the) center
 (of the) lid.

115 E, a, kotchi no futa desu ne
 e- a- this POS lid COP FP
 Oh, u- this lid.

116 S: H[ai
yes
Yes.

117 T: [Hai
yes
Yes.

118 (0.4)

119 [De, a. onatsume wa]
AND oh tea box TM
And oh. the lacquer box...

120 S: [(*Mannaka de ii desu ka*)]
middle OK COP Q
Is the middle OK?

121 T: Ee. k- koo iu fuu ni
yes k- this say way
Yes. Like th- this.

122 Tyotto i- tyotto ii desu ka
a lit- a little good COP Q
Ma- may I?

123 S: Hai
yes
Yes.

124 T: Koo iu fuu ni nanka tsukamu n desu.
like this filler grasp N COP
Grasp (it) like this.

125 Ano,
well
Well,

126 S: Hai
yes
Yes.

127 (0.4)

128 Kakaru yoo ni
cover like
(So that my hand) covers (the tea box)?

129 T: Hai
yes
Yes.

Although this sequence is much more complicated than the sequences I analyzed above, I will argue that it follows the same patterns of repair in talk-in-interaction.

In the previous section, I addressed the trouble Sae had in placing the *onatsume* in the correct location. In this section, I will again deal with repair on the trouble-source segment in line 114; however, the repair dealt with here is repair of the manner of holding the *onatsume*. Recall that Picture 8 above was taken at the point when Tomo was telling Sae to put the *onatsume* on the lid (line 114). During this time, the demonstration of her hand embodied the way in which this activity should be carried out (see Picture 8 for an enlarged sketch of Tomo's hand position); however the utterance itself only explicitly directed Sae on where to place the *onatsume*. Although the talk and the gesture mutually elaborate one another, here, the words and the gesture alone are not enough to define the features of the gesture that are relevant. In this sequence, from the second half of line 115 until the "tyotto i-" in line 122, Sae is moving the *onatsume* from its incorrect position on the inner tray to its correct position on the lid. However, as Sae is engaged in this activity, Tomo indicates that further problems have arisen. In line 119, Tomo again utters a repair initiator, "a." or "oh," which marks that there is a problem. This utterance, in which Tomo initiates repair, is produced in overlap with an understanding check by Sae. However, while Tomo is initiating repair, her hand is moving towards the *onatsume*. In line 121, Tomo briefly acknowledges Sae's prior utterance with the "ee" or "yes," but then adds an increment to the repair utterance that she began producing in line 119. During line 121, when Tomo resumes her repair segment, she puts her hand between Sae's hand and the *onatsume*:

121 T: Ee. k- koo iu fuu ni
yes k- this say way
Yes. Like th- this.

((Tomo moves her hand to the
onatsume.)

However, Sae does not remove her hand. At line 122, Tomo begins asking permission to gain control of the *onatsume*. When she starts her utterance, Sae's hand is still lingering on the *onatsume* (see Picture 11). Within this utterance, Tomo cuts off her talk in progress and restarts. It is at the restart that Sae removes her hand from the *onatsume*, allowing Tomo to gain control of the object in question:



Picture 11: Sae's hand remains on the *onatsume*.

122 T: Tyotto i- tyotto ii desu ka
a lit- a little good COP Q
Ma- may I?

((Both Tomo & Sae's hands are on the *onatsume*..))

((Sae removes her hand & Tomo gains control of the *onatsume*..))

In line 124, Tomo picks up the *onatsume* from the lid and demonstrates how to hold it (see Picture 12) while instructing Sae to "grasp (it) like this."

124 T: Koo iu fuu ni nanka tsukamu n desu.
like this filler grasp N COP
Grasp (it) like this.

((Tomo demonstrates how to hold the *onatsume*..))



Picture 12: Tomo demonstrates the correct way to hold the *onatsume*.

This utterance and embodied action locate the repairable — Sae's incorrect way of grasping the onatsume. Picture 13 illustrates Sae's incorrect way of grasping the onatsume in line 114 - 122. According to Schegloff (1992), another "type of operation used by repairers to recast the trouble-source turn may be termed 'explanation'" (p. 1312). The third position repair proper that occurred in lines 119, 121, and 124 appears to be this type of repair. Only here, the explanation is an embodied presentation of what the teacher expects of the student. In line 125, Tomo stops her demonstration and explanation of the trouble-source and puts the onatsume back down on the lid:

- 125 T: Ano,
well
Well, ((Tomo puts the onatsume
back on the lid.))
- 126 S: Hai
yes
Yes.
- 127 (0.4)
- 128 Kakaru yoo ni
cover like
(So that my hand) covers (the tea box)?

Upon the completion of this, Sae acknowledges the repair in line 126 and seeks a confirmation of understanding in line 128. It is after uttering this line that Sae moves her hand to approach the onatsume again:

- 129 T: Hai
yes
Yes. ((Sae moves her hand to approach the
onatsume.))

Here we can see that through demonstration and explanation, the teacher provided resources in a sequentially appropriate manner to achieve intersubjective organization within this interaction.



Picture 13: Sae's initial way of holding the onatsume.

The segment analyzed above continues as follows:

130 T: (0.5)

131 Yubi c koo, hitosashiyubi o tatete
 finger OM like index finger OM stick out
*Stick out (your) finger, (like your)
 index finger.*

132 (0.5)

133 Hai
 yes
Yes,

This segment of the transcript is critical because two instances of repair from this sequence converge in these lines.

During the 0.5 second pause in line 130, Sae, who has been approaching the *onatsume*, grasps it (see Picture 14) by covering the whole object with her hand. This way of grasping resembles the way in which Tomo grasped it in Picture 12, covering it with her hand, rather than only grasping it with her fingertips (as illustrated in Picture 13). Although this way of grasping approached the model that Tomo demonstrated, it still triggered another instance of third position repair.

In the instance of repair illustrated above, the third position repair that Tomo uses to correct the repairable is: "And oh, the laquer box"; "like th- this"; "grasp (it) like this" (as seen in lines 119, 121, and 124). While she uttered this, she also provided a demonstration of the action she was expressing verbally (see Picture 12 above). However, this repair utterance becomes the trouble-source in the next instance of third position repair.

The way of grasping that Sae uses in Picture 14 is a sequentially relevant



Picture 14: Sae grasps the *onatsume* by covering it with her hand.



Picture 15: Sae gazes over at Tomo's demonstration of the trouble source.

response to Tomo's utterance in lines 119, 121 and 124. However, it appears as if this way of grasping also indicates an incorrect understanding. Since a demonstration of Tomo's utterance is what Sae needs to do in order to carry out the directive, the only way that Tomo can assess the action for correctness or lack of correctness is through visual monitoring. Tomo is displaying that she is monitoring the actions of Sae in a number of ways. First, the participation framework allows Tomo to have access to Sae's actions, and throughout this section, Tomo is gazing at Sae's hands as she manipulates the *onatsume*. Also, she initiates another repair in order to correct the positioning of Sae's hand before she goes on to the next step in the activity. During line 131, Tomo tells Sae specifically to "stick out (your) finger, (like your) index finger."

The only one of Schegloff's (1992) four features of repair that it contains is the repair proper, which in this case is an explanation of the trouble-source turn. Of all of the features of third position repair, this is the one most likely to be present. At the "koo" in line 131, Sae, who had been looking down at her own hand handling the *onatsume* now shifts her gaze to Tomo's hand (see Picture 15). This is evidence that the utterance up to this point, "yubi o koo," was not enough for Sae to locate the repairable. In this instance, it is the gesture that makes this utterance transparent (see the enlarged sketch of the hand gesture in Picture 15) and allows Sae to locate the repairable. While Tomo is in the process of telling Sae to stick out her index finger, Sae sticks out her index finger in the correct position (see Picture 16). The way Sae is correctly grasping the *onatsume* with her index finger pointing out displays her understanding of the third position repair that Tomo uttered in line 131. During the pause in line 132, Sae holds her hand in the correct position until Tomo's confirmation of her corrected action in line 133. From these lines, it is clear that the different semiotic modalities, such as talk, deictics, and gesture, mutually elaborate each other. And in some cases, all of these fields are relevant to the constitution of action within talk-in-interaction.

When Sae carries out the action of picking up the *onatsume* and placing it on the lid (rather than the inner tray) using the correct hand position, she is displaying



Picture 16: Sae correctly grasps the *onatsume*.

her understanding of the activity in progress. Now, the utterances in lines 134-135 are the lines that move the activity of repair back into the activity of placing the tools. By moving on in an activity, the teacher accepts what has been done and no longer keeps the student in a position to be redoing the activity in question:

134 T: Soo iu fuu ni ue kara tsukan de
that say way top from grab and
Grasp (it) up from (the) top like that.

135 Mannaka ni oite kudasai
center in put please
Please put (it) in (the) center.

This move back into the activity of making tea is done in a systematic way. First, now that Sae has her hand in the correct position on the *onatsume*, she repeats her response to the directive that she was given in line 114. She does this by re-picking up the *onatsume* and re-placing it in the center of the lid while Tomo is uttering line 134. In the utterance at line 134, Tomo acknowledges that Sae's hand is correctly positioned by the change in deixis. To illustrate, in lines 121 and 124, when Tomo was demonstrating how to hold the object, she said the following utterances:

121 T: Ee. k- koo iu fuu ni
yes k- this say way
Yes. Like th- this.

124 T: Koo iu fuu ni nanka tsukamu n desu.
this say way filler grasp N COP
Grasp (it) like this

In these utterances, Tomo is demonstrating how the object should be grasped, and when doing so, she uses the deictic reference “koo” or “this.” This deictic term focuses the attention onto Tomo and highlights what should be done. However, when Sae is correctly grasping the onatsume, Tomo’s utterance shifts to “soo” or “that”:

- 134 T: Soo iu fuu ni ue kara tsukan de
that say way top from grab and
Grasp (it) from (the) top like that and
- 135 Mannaka ni oite kudasai
center in put please
Please put (it) in (the) center.

In this way, she is displaying her acceptance of the way that Sae is holding the onatsume. The use of “that” focuses the attention on Sae and establishes that Tomo finds that action to be correct.

The activity resumes in the same way which it stopped. In fact, by juxtaposing lines 114 (the line just before the repair sequence started) and 135 (the line that ended the repair sequence), the resumption of the activity of making tea becomes even more apparent:

- 114 T: De, futa no mannaka ni oite kudasai
and lid PM center in put please
And please put (it) in the center of the lid.
- 135 T: Mannaka ni oite kudasai
center in put please
Please put (it) in the center.

This verbal parenthesis sets off the repair sequences in this segment. That is, the activity that was interrupted by the repair sequences gets re-initiated with the same words. And, in fact, following this politeness marker, “kudasai,” in line 135, which systematically marks the end of one step of the activity, Tomo proceeds with the activity of directing Sae to take out and arrange the tools.

CONCLUSION

According to Austin (1962), a directive is an utterance designed to get someone to do something. Directives are essential elements within talk and interaction because they help organize the bodily actions that accompany the talk. Through the current analysis, I illustrate how directives, used in conjunction with gestures,

are critical in organizing the actions of the student.

One of the earlier themes in research on directives involved coming to an understanding of what constituted a directive. In order to investigate this question, researchers, such as Labov & Fanshel (1977), began to analyze directives within different speech acts. However, this line of study was soon replaced by researchers investigating directives embedded within sequences. For example, M. H. Goodwin (1990) analyzed the sequential placement of directives within stretches of talk among African-American children in order to determine how directives contributed to social organization. Wootton (1997) focused primarily on one child's requests and directives, including imperatives within sequences, in order to illustrate verbal activity that emerged from and constituted a collaborative socialization process between a child and her parents. Regardless of the goal for studying directives, it is important to note that "directives are best understood as actions embedded within a larger field of social activity," (M. H. Goodwin, 1990, p. 73).

The previous two studies mentioned focused on the talk that occurred within contexts containing directives. However, the current study extended beyond the talk to include other ways of displaying how directives helped achieve understanding. In particular, I looked at how gestures became a key element when giving a directive in an embodied activity.

As with any instructional situation, when a directive is given, there is always the possibility of problems that need to be repaired. This article has also looked systematically at third position repair that occurred within this embodied activity and how it was used to correct responses to directives that demonstrated trouble in telling, hearing, or understanding. Again, gesture was a critical element used when dealing with the trouble source. Therefore, this study has revealed that even though these data were taken from an activity that is highly cultural in Japanese society, the talk-in-interaction that takes place within this activity is made up of generic features that are relevant to interaction.

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APPENDIX A: GRAMMATICAL ABBREVIATIONS

COP	Copula
FP	Final Particle
N	Nominalizer
OM	Object marker
POS	Possessive marker
Q	Question marker
QT	Quotative particle
SM	Subject marker
TM	Topic marker

NOTES

¹ The tea ceremony is one of the most traditional activities present in Japanese culture. The basic notion behind the tea ceremony is simplicity and purity. Since many aspects of the tea ceremony were developed in Zen temples, Zen beliefs helped shape the foundation of tea ceremony teaching (Tanaka & Tanaka, 1998). However, during the Edo period (1603-1868), the types of *temae*, or the way of making and serving tea, increased. The three basic concepts of *temae* are arrangement, purification, and calmness of mind. For example, arrangement encompasses setting down the objects one at a time, so as to allow enough time for the guests to admire the beauty of the arrangement (Tanaka & Tanaka, 1998, p. 131).

Although many different types of *temae* have developed, there are a set of fundamental steps that occur in all types: arrangement of utensils, wiping the utensils, warming the tea whisk and tea bowl, making the tea, washing the bowls and the whisk, wiping the tea scoop and replacing the utensils. Thus, through this brief history behind the tea ceremony, it is clear that this activity is governed by a very strict set of prescribed practices.

² According to Kendon (1985), "An F-formation may be said to arise whenever two or more individuals agree to position themselves in such a way that their transactional segments overlap, thereby establishing a space between them to which they have equal access. This space is an area over which all participants exercise control and for whose maintenance and protection from internal and external disturbances all are responsible," (p. 239).

³ For a list of the abbreviations used in the gloss, see Appendix A. Also note that in the translation, words in parentheses indicate words that are not present in the Japanese but have been added in an attempt to make the English translation better reflect the Japanese.

⁴ Clark and Gerrig (1990) argue that "Quotations are demonstrations that are component parts of language use," (p. 769). Throughout this lesson, Tomo used demonstrations to quote her speech. It is Clark and Gerrig's notion of quotation as demonstration that I refer to.

⁵ According to Schegloff (1987, 1992), the definition of third position repair is as follows. One participant, A, produces a turn at talk. The next participant, B, produces a sequentially appropriate next turn that displays his/her understanding of the first turn. However, this turn reveals that speaker B has misunderstood the turn that he/she is responding to. In the next action, speaker A may choose to address this problem of misunderstanding by dealing with the trouble source from the first turn. One common form that a third position repair takes is, "No, I don't mean X, I mean Y."

Third position repair consists of four main components:

- a repair initiator (usually "no" or "oh" or a combination of the two)

- an agreement or acceptance component (the element most likely to be absent)
- a rejection component
- the repair proper (the element most likely to be present).

When multiple components occur in one turn, they generally appear in this order. For a more detailed explanation, see Schegloff (1992).

The most common component, the repair proper, takes on a number of different forms. The repair proper can merely consist of a "clearer" repetition of the trouble source, such as repeating the trouble source with more emphasis through sound stretches, additional stress, and intonation drops. However, this form of repair is quite uncommon. The more common operations that make up the repair proper are:

- "I mean" plus a contrast
- "I mean" plus a reformulation of the trouble source
- A specification
- An explanation

This review of third position repair is critical to the current analysis because the form of the turns that the teacher uses to correct the problems in telling, hearing, or misunderstanding resemble third position repair turns.

⁶It is unclear to me here whether Tomo is actually acknowledging Sae's completion of the action or acknowledging the fact that Sae acknowledges that she misunderstood the directive.

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The Symbolic Species: The Co-evolution of Language and the Brain by Terrence W. Deacon.

New York: W.W. Norton, 1997, 527 pp.

Reviewed by Donald Favareau
University of California, Los Angeles

In 1866, the recently formed Societe Linguistique de Paris passed an official resolution banning the presentation of any further papers regarding the origins of human language. The nature of the inquiry itself, it was felt, lacked even the possibility of scientific certainty, and all work pertaining to it was likewise dismissed on the grounds of being empirically irresolvable, incorrigibly speculative, and unproductively divisive.

Terrence W. Deacon, almost a century and a half later, has authored a provocative polemic that will doubtlessly incur even more violent censure on the part of his detractors. Empirically vigorous, incisively speculative and with the potential to be productively divisive, Deacon's *The Symbolic Species: The Co-Evolution of Language and the Brain* challenges many, if not most, of the assumptions underlying modern linguistic theory.

Of particular interest to linguists will be Deacon's refutation of Chomsky's (1972) Universal Grammar paradigm, as well as his corollary rejection of the possibility of innate syntactic processing or language-learning "modules" nestled deep within the human brain. Instead, claims Deacon, language itself—and the symbolic representation which it evinces and encodes—lies not inside individual brains at all, but at the interface between biology and culture.

A biological anthropologist with extensive experience in neurology, Deacon supports this argument first with an appeal to evolutionary theory. "Universality is not, in itself," Deacon proposes, "a reliable indicator of what evolution has built into human brains" (p. 339). Accordingly, the Chomskian notion that some kind of universal grammatical knowledge must be innate in human beings in order to account for certain otherwise unexplainable "universal features" regarding language is an argument which Deacon considers specious. Precisely because some version of Chomsky's model is so deeply embedded in contemporary linguistic theory, a considerable portion of *The Symbolic Species* is devoted to its refutation. It is this argument, to the exclusion of so many other fascinating and corollary arguments presented throughout the work, that this review will endeavor to reconstruct.

Fundamental to Deacon's argument is nineteenth century American psychologist James Mark Baldwin's (1895;1902) theory that the very context wherein natural selection takes place can itself be modified by the behavior of its inhabitants and that this modification may, in turn, generate subsequent new sets of selection

pressures. By invoking the Baldwinian theory of evolution, Deacon specifically resists what he refers to as "the Lamarckian caricature" of a one-to-one mapping of adaptative response "from outside to inside the genome" (p. 326). Instead Deacon claims that the evolution that resulted in human beings' capacity for symbolic representation (and its "outward expression" which is language use) is incorrectly conceptualized as a teleological progress in design. Nature is not technology, Deacon reminds us. Evolution does not "design" so much as it "diversifies and distributes" in all directions (p. 29).

Human beings' eventual adaptation for our present linguistic capacity filled an environmental niche as specifically as did "the development of Arctic fish with anti-freeze in their blood" (p. 30). What is salient to Deacon's discussion is the realization that the absence of this particular adaptation is likewise meaningless outside the niche. Nature may react to us, but nature has no "plans" for us. Language is something that we developed for ourselves, Deacon argues, as part of the co-evolution of humans and their niche. What Deacon now must explain is why the Chomskian notions of brain module adaptation and Universal Grammar are at odds with current evolutionary theory.

Citing Conrad Waddington's (1957) work in genetic assimilation, Deacon demonstrates how there are seldom obvious links between behaviors induced by environmental changes and their long-term evolutionary consequences. The introduction of animal husbandry and agriculture into Africa modified selection pressures within the niche through its subsequent introduction into the population of mosquitoes carrying epidemic malaria. Genetic assimilation against this epidemic resulted in not just one, but in an entire series of blood protein molecular adaptations in humans, the most famous being cell "sickling" (from which derives sickle cell anemia). What evolution did not result in, as Deacon characteristically points out, was an inheritance for "mosquito-resistant skin or an abhorrence to standing water" (p. 326). Similarly, the kind of genetically inherited, "universally grammatical principles" envisioned by Chomsky and by Pinker (1994), Deacon argues, exceed the constraints on brain evolution regarding what kind of knowledge can and cannot become internalized.

Evolutionary theory holds that the levels of gene replacement necessary for any trait to become regularized are determined by "the intensity of selection, the stability of the conditions being adapted to, and the invariant features of the adaptative response" (p. 328). Yet, Deacon argues, the drastic amount of language change over periods amounting to little more than evolutionary 'instants' leaves "little possibility for mental adaptations to specific syntactic structures" (p. 329). Addressing the question of even more underlying processes, Deacon goes on to demonstrate how, while certain unchanging sensorimotor attributes of language use as well as invariants in the language learning context may have become internalized in human beings via Baldwinian evolution, the kind of Universal Grammar proposed by Chomsky and Pinker simply could not have been (p. 338).

Deacon begins his argument by noting that even the "deep structure invari-

ances" of Universal Grammar only weakly constrain the highly variable surface structures that implement it. Moreover, he observes, "it is just those grammatical structures which have been proposed most "universal" which are by their nature the most variable in surface representation, variably mapped to processing tasks, and poorly localizable within the brain between individuals or even within individuals" (p. 333). If this is as "invariant" as Universal Grammar can get, argues Deacon, it is a poor candidate indeed for genetic assimilation. For not only does the absence of correlates in the distinction between nouns and verbs, for instance, and some singular, observable (presumably neural) way in which that distinction is "processed in the same way in all brains under all conditions" tend to disprove the presence of a universal and innate grammar, but "the discontinuity between stimulus associations and symbolic reference associations, which is the basis of their [symbolic associations'] function . . . makes them *impossible to assimilate genetically*" (italics in original; p. 331, p. 332).

Here is where Deacon formulates his strongest, if not his most provocative, argument: "...no innate rules, no innate general principles, no innate categories" depending on such symbolic (as opposed to indexical) information, "can be built in by evolution" (p. 339). Thus, asserts Deacon, the entire theory of innate deep structure "paints itself into an evolutionary corner . . . by recognizing the logical independence of universal features from surface features" (p. 334). Deacon claims that our use of language is the outward expression and encoding of symbolic representation. Along with Peirce (1955), Deacon maintains that symbols, by definition, are directly mapped to other symbols, and not directly mapped to other objects in the world. Human beings do sometimes use words which communicate their referent indexically, "pointing to" that referent specifically amongst all the objects in the world. The vast majority of our linguistic "competence" is not of this variety, however. Rule-formulation and rule-following, reminiscences, narratives, explanations, predictions and every sort of spatially or temporally removed referencing and categorization must rely on symbol use in order to have any communicative efficacy. However, being physically unmappable to any solid thing in our environment, "symbols" are incapable of providing the invariantly existing stimuli for which evolution could ever generate genetic selection pressure.

Deacon has a theory of his own to posit as an alternative to the nativist viewpoint, and in the accompanying chapters on neurology, he systematically attempts to disprove the existence of an internally located "language processing module," which nativists assert is hard-wired somewhere deep inside the human brain. Instead, Deacon finds that evolution has endowed us with "a constellation of many indirectly related contributory influences and biases, and not an innate replica of the prior facultative behavioral response" (p. 326).

This constellation of bias and influences (as fully as in the case of the Arctic fish) constitutes an orientation—or learning emphasis—for a mode of being-in-the-world which is, Deacon continually reminds us, predominantly a virtual world of our own evolutionary creation. The expanse in our pre-frontal cortex which

arose as a response to the exigencies of symbol use, Deacon argues, has resulted in a "front-heavy" cognition which induces us to "recode our experiences, to see everything as a representation, to always expect there to be a deeper hidden logic" (p. 436). Symbol use alone allows us to ruminate, question, wonder and infer about the existence we find ourselves in, and symbol use alone allows us to construct the relationships, systems, societies and worlds that serve as answers to those questions and inferences.

A "virtual" world of stories and of counterfactuality thus supervenes upon our animal existence. Freed from the exigencies of an eternal present, we plan, hope, dream, dread, envision, and ultimately define ourselves in our relations with the rest of the naturally existing world. In realizing these visions, we create communities and collectively devise strategies to explore ocean bottoms and the far reaches of outer space. Our niche changes and expands accordingly. As products of that niche, in changing it, we change our consciousness and, thus, ourselves.

Surely, Deacon argues, language and the brain have co-evolved. And while the widely distributed neural emphasis which we have developed, at least for the present, manifests itself in the direction of symbolic representation, there is no innately underlying "key" or necessary regulative schematic such as "universal grammar" which passes along from generation to generation, defining for all time what can or cannot be intelligible to us in terms of human language.

This refutation of a bulwark of modern theory is just one of the many intriguing arguments to be found in *The Symbolic Species*. Equal parts neurology, philosophy, linguistics, and paleontology, Deacon's arguments often require quite a bit of willingness on the part of the reader to follow them on their highly circuitous but always rewarding and provocative routes. Yet it is a testament to the coherence of the work in general that this book, published just over a year ago, has already generated such intense interest and such profound argument in our field.

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Donald Favareau is a Master's Degree student in the Department of Applied Linguistics at the University of California in Los Angeles.

**Drill no Tetsujin: Communicative na Drill kara Role-play e
(The Expert of Drills: From Communicative Drills to Role-
Plays) by Sinichiro Yokomizo.**

Tokyo: Alc co, 1997, 225 pp.

Reviewed by Eiko Torii-Williams
Wellesley College / Boston University

An experienced teacher knows that mechanical drills alone cannot provide satisfactory results in a foreign language classroom. Drills tend to be a dull activity, often creating considerable strain on both teachers and students. Students quickly lose their motivation for speech, if they simply parrot certain speech patterns when the teacher gives the cue. Another criticism of mechanical drills is that students are often found to be unable to transfer skills acquired through drills to actual communication (Krashen & Terrell, 1983; Canale, 1983; Omaggio, 1986; Richards & Rodgers, 1986; Takamizawa, 1989).

Since the Communicative Approach (instruction oriented toward communication-based activities rather than grammar drills) was introduced into JFL (Japanese as a foreign language), teachers in the field have adapted numerous task-oriented activities as well as role-plays by either replacing the mechanical drills, or combining the communicative activities with the existing mechanical drills. However, the new approach has not delivered the expected results. When teachers replace mechanical drills and use only task-oriented activities and role-plays, students cannot develop a strong foundation to perform communicative tasks. When teachers attempt to combine mechanical drills and communicative activities, the gap between the two is not bridged successfully, and students fail to perform the tasks and role-plays. An even worse case scenario is that through role-play and simulation type exercises, the students end up practicing forms that are not useful or are actually inaccurate (Okazaki & Okazaki, 1990; NFLC, 1993; Nishiguchi, 1995). How can we make communicative activities work in the classroom? This book provides an answer.

Drill no Tetsujin offers specific and practical guidelines to construct 'communicative drills' for elementary Japanese language classrooms. The author, Sinichiro Yokomizo, advocates communicative drills, which he calls "Contextualized Exercises," for the following reasons: (1) Forming a sentence and being able to use it in actual communication are not the same, and it is the teacher's responsibility to show the students "when" and "how" to use the learned sentence through the communicative drills; (2) Mechanical pattern drills can become monotonous, but the communicative drills enable students to use the pattern in a meaningful context; (3) We cannot expect a smooth transition from mechanical drills to

role-plays, but the communicative drills can act as a bridge between the two stages.

The book consists of seven chapters: 1. Drill to wa? (What are the drills?); 2. Drill o communicative ni suru tame no kufuu (How to make drills communicative); 3. "Context no naka de no renshuu" no ichi (When to conduct "Contextualized Exercises"?); 4. "Context no naka de no renshuu" no jitsurei (Examples of "Contextualized Exercises."); 5. Kyooshitsu katsudoo ni okeru "context no naka de no renshuu" no ichi (When to conduct "Contextualized Exercises" in classroom activities); 6. Fukushima you no bamen renshuu (Situational Exercises for Review); 7. "Context no naka de no renshuu" no ato no role-play (The role-plays after "Contextualized Exercises"). Overall, the book is well-organized and attractively presented. Each chapter begins with a careful preview of the author's discussion, and is followed by precise explanations with examples that include sample drawings (visual aids), and then ends with practical suggestions.

In the introductory chapter, Yokomizo presents the various types of mechanical drills and their drawbacks, which sets the stage for the discussion in the following chapter. Chapter 2 demonstrates how to make mechanical drills communicative. Tetsujin ("the Expert"), as the author refers to himself, provides eight valuable suggestions on how to turn a simple "Response Drill," such as "Takai desu ka?," "Hai, takai desu," ("Is it expensive?," "Yes it is.") into a communicative drill: 1. Always provide a context (contextualize); 2. Make sure the context is understood by everyone; 3. Have the students play both sides (not only answers, but questions); 4. Do not limit the dialogue to "Question and Answer"; 5. Provide several variable contexts in each grammar pattern; 6. The grammar pattern may be included either in the first speaker's utterances or the second; 7. Provide feedback, especially on pronunciation; 8. Expand the dialogues.

The following example illustrates a sequence in a classroom from the introduction of a grammar pattern to its application in role-plays. The sequence begins with a clear demonstration of a grammar pattern followed by a thorough explanation of its meaning and function; and it offers practice through mechanical drills. Before the communicative approach was introduced into Japanese language teaching, this sequence was the common procedure. Since the 1980's, role-plays and task oriented activities have been used after the above sequence; however, a number of teachers have found the results unsatisfactory. The author claims that "Contextualized Exercises" must come between the mechanical drills and the role-plays to minimize the gap between the two stages. The author further discusses the relation between "Contextualized Exercises" and the three processes of the communicative approach (Information Gap, Choice, and Feedback).

Chapter 4, which comprises more than half of the book, is filled with ready-to-use examples of "Contextualized Exercises." This section addresses 18 important grammar patterns; each contains a brief analysis of the grammar, several examples of "Contextualized Exercises" including how to expand these examples, and finally practical suggestions from "the Expert" (the author). Although it does not cover as many grammar patterns as Miura's (1983) *Syokyuu Drill no Tsukurikata*

(The way to construct drills for the beginning level), the author successfully demonstrates his techniques to make simple mechanical drills more communicative.

In the next chapter Yokomizo offers examples to support his viewpoint on the sequence in a classroom (Chapter 3). He uses the "verb + koto ga aru" (expressing past experience) pattern to guide us through the model class (from the grammar introduction to mechanical drills to contextualized exercises, and finally, to situational tasks and role-plays.) Once again, the author emphasizes the significance of showing the students "when" and "how" to use the learned sentence through communicative drills.

In Chapter 6, "Situational Exercises for Review," the author combines several contextualized exercises to construct a story, and discusses how to design a lesson plan around this activity. In this chapter he defines 'situational exercises' as stories (or realistic situations) that contain the grammar patterns and vocabulary taught in the chapter. The author goes on to discuss the purpose of these exercises and gives two example stories utilizing the grammar patterns from lessons 8 and 21 of the widely used textbook, *Japanese: the Spoken Language* (Jorden & Noda, 1987). The author claims that a lesson such as this is meaningful after each chapter because: (1) the students can review what they have learned in the chapter; (2) this review reinforces learned grammar patterns and vocabulary; and (3) the instructor can find out how well the students have acquired the skills taught in the chapter.

The final chapter of the book discusses role-plays and provides examples of the varying types of information that the teacher can give the students: 1. an unfinished segment of dialogue; 2. place, situation, characters, expressions and vocabulary; 3. place, situation, characters; 4. characters and instructions (what to do for each sentence) 5. place, situation, characters, and the goal of the exercise; 6. a problematic situation. The chapter then proceeds to discuss the relationship between these role-plays and the three processes of the communicative approach (Information Gap, Choice, and Feedback).

Yokomizo claims that the type 3 role-plays (providing the students with place, situation, and characters) are the most effective after "Contextualized Exercises" because the flow of the conversation is up to the students. Therefore, it provides the students with an opportunity to begin the conversation under certain circumstances, develop the conversation while listening carefully to each other, and end the conversation appropriately. These three elements are necessary for effective communication in the real world. The author further indicates more characteristics of the type 3 role-plays and offers a few examples. Finally, other useful notes for instructors are provided in conjunction with the results of surveys given to the students. The results show that students also recognize the effectiveness of the role-plays.

In sum, *Drill no Tetsujin* is a valuable resource for teachers of Japanese. It is particularly helpful for novice teachers since the author clearly demonstrates a way to construct communicative drills in a step-by-step manner. Experienced teachers may find some of the suggestions in this book trivial (for example, 'put the

visual aids away soon after finishing the dialogue so as not to confuse the students in the next dialogue'); however, if I look back to my first teaching experience, I can recall that I thought about such mundane matters. Veteran teachers can also learn a great deal from this book. Chapter 6 is particularly useful for experienced teachers because I believe that constructing situational exercises is the most challenging, yet rewarding, project for an instructor. As the author suggests, s/he gets the opportunity to play three roles: producer (constructing a realistic story by combining as many learned grammar patterns and vocabulary as possible), director (observing the students' performances and providing them with appropriate feedback), and actor (becoming a character in the story). The students can enter into a natural conversation by simulating realistic situations, which helps for a smooth transition to the next step, the role-plays and task-oriented activities.

The value of this book lies in the author's clear and thorough presentation of how to turn a simple mechanical drill into a more meaningful communicative drill. As Jorden & Walton (1987) claim, "Japanese is a truly foreign language." The grammatical structure and the use of words are radically different from English. According to the Defense Language Institute, Japanese is a Category IV Language (1,320 hours of instruction required to reach a certain level of proficiency), whereas some Western European languages, such as French and Spanish belong to Category I (450 hours of instruction). Therefore, teachers of Japanese should be careful when using task activities and role-plays in their classrooms even though the same activities may have yielded successful results in French and Spanish classes (NFLC, 1993). Because of the nature of the Japanese language, an extra step is needed before employing communicative tasks (Okazaki & Okazaki, 1990).

Drill no Tetsujin has made an important contribution to the field of Japanese language teaching. New teachers will benefit significantly from the precise description of the author's techniques to make mechanical drills more communicative. Yokomizo demonstrates his techniques in such a gradual manner and with such ready-to-use examples that even inexperienced teachers (and their students) can benefit from them immediately. Experienced teachers can also appreciate the ideas in this book and incorporate them into their own teaching.

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Eiko Torri-Williams is a lecturer at Wellesley College and a Ph.D. candidate in Applied Linguistics at Boston University. Her research interests include Japanese Language Education, Japanese Linguistics, Second Language Acquisition, and Bilingual Education.

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